Texts in Transit

Library of the Written Word

The Handpress World

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Texts in Transit

Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century

By

Lotte Hellinga

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'William Caxton and the Malory Manuscript', in Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer (eds.), *Aspects of Malory* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 127–141.

man literature which had eluded me. His marginal exclamation marks were a much appreciated encouragement in a project that—as these projects go—took longer than intended. Equally persistent and encouraging was the interest of Karina de la Garza Gil (Cologne), who as an introduction to the subject also read the entire text, and in return gave much help in the final presentation. John Goldfinch in the British Library gave constant support with indispensable practicalities, and he arranged the return of the Malory manuscript for a session at the British Library's Conservation workshop. Last but not least, I am once again deeply grateful to Tony Kitzinger, as he added to the new Brill font the set of special characters peculiar to fifteenth-century printers which he had designed for previous publications. Without them the many transcriptions in this book could not have been typed, typeset, or read.

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Abbreviations

BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
BL	London, British Library.
BMC	*Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, 13 vols. (vols. XI–XIII, *British Library*), vols. I–X, XII (London, 1908–1986), vols. XI, XIII ('t Goy-Houten, 2004, 2007).
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Bod-inc	*A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 2005).
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
BSB-Ink	*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Inkunabelkatalog*, 6 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1988-in progress).
Chawner	G. Chawner, *A List of the Incunabula of King's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1908).
CIBN	*Bibliothèque nationale de France, Catalogue des incunables*, 2 vols., vol. I (fasc. 1–3, Xylographes A–D), vol. II (fasc. 1–4, H–Z) (Paris, 1981-in progress).
Collijn (Stockholm)	Isak Collijn, *Katalog der Inkunabeln der Königliche Bibliothek in Stockholm*, vol. I (Stockholm, 1914).
De Ricci (*Mayence*)	Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)* [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft VIII–IX] (Mainz, 1911).
Duff	E. Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*: *A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed in England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad* (London, 1917). Repr. with supplementary descriptions, chronologies, and a census of copies by Lotte Hellinga with the title *Printing in England in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 2009).
EETS	Early English Text Society.
Goff	Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1964).
GW	*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vols. I–VIII (Leipzig, 1925–1940), vol. VIII (Stuttgart, 1968-in progress). Unless stated otherwise I have quoted 'GW' from the printed edition, but 'GW M' is only available from the online database.
HBB III	Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1999). Repr. 2014.
Hodnett	E. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* [Bibliographical Society Illus-

	trated Monographs 22 and 22a] (London, 1935). Repr. with additions and corrections (London, 1973).
HPT	Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, *The fifteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries*. 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1966).
IGI	*Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1943–1981).
ILC	Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch (eds.), *Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries* (Nieuwkoop, 1999).
ISTC	Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue. Database recording editions and surviving copies of incunabula world-wide, based at the British Library.
JRL	followed by figure: call numbers in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester
JRUL	Manchester, John Rylands University Library.
Kok	Ina Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, 4 vols. ('t Goy-Houten, 2013).
Kyriss	Ernst Kyriss, *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1951–1958).
Moreau	B. Moreau (ed.), *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIᵉ siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1972–1993).
Nijhoff-Kronenberg	Wouter Nijhoff and Maria Elisabeth Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 3 vols. and supplements (The Hague, 1923–1971).
NLW	Schoichi Oguro, Richard Beadle, and Michael G. Sargent (eds.), *Nicholas Love at Waseda: Proceedings of the International Conference 20–22 July 1995* (Cambridge, 1997).
Oates	J.C.T. Oates, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1954).
PBSA	Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.
Polain	M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1932). Supplément (Brussels, 1978).
Sheehan	William J. Sheehan, C.S.B., *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Incunabula*, 4 vols. (Vatican City, 1997).
STC	*Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*. 2nd revised edition by W.A. Jackson and F.J. Ferguson, completed by Katherine Pantzer, 3 vols. (London, 1978–1986).
UB	Universitätsbibliothek.
VK	Ernst Voulliéme, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten*

	Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Inkunabel-bibliographie [Publikationen der Gesellschaft Rheinische Geschichtskunde 24] (Bonn, 1903). Facsimile reprint with 'Nachwort' by Severin Corsten (Düsseldorf, 1978).
Weimar, HAAB	Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek.
WILC	Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries: database held at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.
Wolfenbüttel, HAB	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

Introduction

In this book a selection of studies and essays are brought together, most of which were published in earlier forms in the course of the last forty years. They have been expanded, revised, and rewritten, and a few are new. Their common theme is following the transformation of texts during the time they spent in printing houses of the fifteenth century.

Returning to work done many years ago, I have become aware that my interest in the subject has evolved. It had started with the question, 'What can marked-up printer's copy tell us about the production processes of early printing houses?', but it has become modified to 'What could happen to texts in early printing houses?' Initially my investigations of printer's copy were directed towards distinguishing methods of processing a text, calculations by the printers, division of copy between compositors, the order of typesetting. The studies in which I first pursued this—on the Dutch *The history of Jason* (printed in 1485) and Rufinus, *Expositio in symbolum apostolorum*, the first book printed in Oxford (in 1478)—resulted in understanding some of the practices of two very different printing houses as they were working on two very different texts. It also led me to begin to perceive that in the six years between the printing of these two books there had been a drastic change in production methods, and that this might be connected with the improvement of the functioning of the printing press. But despite all of their differences, the two books I studied in relation to their exemplar had one thing in common: the fairly extensive textual changes that had been made in order to accommodate technical requirements. When faced with problems of fitting text in a predetermined space, compositors had solved them by making changes in the text. Such changes proved to be a key to identifying the actual order of typesetting—how marks on the printer's exemplar showed that text had been divided before being put back together again after typesetting—and they caused me to pay particular attention to textual comparison between source and printed result when other instances of printer's copy came my way. This began to reveal another aspect of textual transmission in early printing. Textual variants between copy and print cannot always be explained by sleights of hand in typesetting or by printing-house accidents. Even when remaining unmarked in the exemplar, they can be recognised as deliberate corrections or adaptations of the text.

Having caught glimpses of what looked like deliberate modification of texts in print that had taken place during the production process, it became clear that caution was called for in any generalisation. Experience and experiment with a wider range of texts confirmed that there were requirements other than

technical that brought about changes in texts transmitted in early print, and that they must have been introduced in response to any of the great variety of circumstances in which texts were published.

The nature of a text, how it was valued, its language, the age and quality of the printer's exemplar, and the requirements and tolerance of the readership expected by the printer all determined the level of expertise and the intensity of care that was bestowed on it in the printing house. There is infinite scope for variation in practice. Interventions introduced in the printing house can only be brought to light by observing the moment of transition, which can be caught when comparing in detail the printed product with its source, manuscript copy to print, proof to print, or print to print. That is why this book is full of textual collations;[1] they demonstrate what in my view is a dominating feature of early print culture: the response to the fact that when printers multiplied a text in print, either for the first time or in an early stage of its dissemination, they did not know its future readers or users. The continuous process of adaptation of the actual language forms and presentation, which can be observed in successive editions of many early printed books, took place with the purpose of making them accessible to hundreds of readers who were unknown to the printer as individuals. 'Impressores librorum multiplicantur in terra', wrote Werner Rolewinck in 1474, and readers multiplied in much greater numbers. Concerns about accuracy, adaptation, and renewal remained a large aspect of publishing, of course, but it is as if with the abrupt expansion of the readership of a text produced in hundreds of copies—which was what the invention of printing brought about—the need to make texts acceptable to unknown readers was felt more keenly in the early years, when this phenomenon was still a novelty.

The incentives to produce texts that met the expectations of manifold readers—in so far as those expectations were perceived—were surely partly commercial; the considerable investment was also a novelty, and returns on it would depend on satisfying buyers. Yet when textual accuracy mattered, as it did for the scriptures, liturgy, or law, it cannot be denied that publishers and printers felt a sense of responsibility for the quality of the text. Reser-

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1   In transcribing texts I have followed the rules established in the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, vol. I ('BMC') (1908), p. xviii, and followed in the subsequent volumes. Each single character is represented by a single standardised character; the two forms of r and s are ignored except when used sequentially in a collation formula. Where appropriate, line ends are indicated by ||. In printed books, recto pages are indicated by superscript a and verso pages by superscript b, and in manuscripts by superscript r and v, respectively.

vations and scepticism about the benefits of print and the accuracy of texts were not heard until they were expressed by a later generation, when disappointed scholars and authors felt let down by printers. It is worth noting that in the fifteenth century the contemporary authors and editors whose work appeared in print during their lifetime were often closely involved with its production.

Emphasis on textual adaptation does not mean that the traces left behind by the technical process of printing can be ignored. Technical constraints left their marks in the transmission of texts, with flaws such as missed lines, extreme abbreviation, or freely expanded text. They cannot be understood without awareness of the limitations the production process imposed. I therefore include two preliminary chapters, in the first of which I set out the development of the early printing press and how its technical improvement changed the way a text was processed. In the second chapter, focusing on printer's copy, I also discuss how from the 1950s onwards interest in the technical aspect of textual transmission in early printing has gradually grown. Studies began to appear that addressed the dynamic process of textual transmission by tracing it through two or more sources, the most intriguing and often spectacular aspect of which is the transition from manuscript to print; much rarer, but equally revealing, are the instances of a printed book marked up before reprinting. The experience with both kinds of marked-up copy can be applied in general to transitions from print to print. Individual cases show that the reprinting of a text may continue the process of correction and adaptation that would have started when it emerged from a manuscript tradition to make its first appearance in print. The known instances are frequent and convincing enough to counter an erroneous notion, which had taken root among schools of textual historians, that a first printed edition could be assumed to end the further development of a text, with reprint faithfully following reprint in a linear fashion.

With these insights there has been a growing realisation that producing a book in print cannot be called a purely mechanical process until the typeset matter is laid on the press. Until that point, from the moment a text is in a printing house, it may be affected by the decisions of an editor, or by compositors who reconstitute the text in type, their hands directed by their minds as they work to fit it in what are usually predetermined spaces: 'human nature at work', to use A.W. Pollard's phrase in his introduction to the first volume of BMC. Finally proofreading may bring substantive changes. And even during printing, minds don't stop working: once printed sheets are seen, the mechanical process may be interrupted to introduce corrections, thus creating textual variants within the print run.

In the case studies in the present collection, I have attempted to take a close look at the passage of texts through a printing house in a few of the rare instances where more than one witness survives: printer's copy or proofs that can be compared to the result that left the press. None of the studies have been undertaken with the intention of proving or illustrating a theory, but they may seem to have a bearing on a distinct debate that has taken place among book historians—rather than textual historians—about the stability or fixation of texts once they appear in print. This began with the publication in 1979 of Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The printing press as an agent of change*, has continued for decades, and may perhaps have run its course. 'Texts are not fixed. They are always mobile—at the time of writing, the time of production, the time of publication, and over the course of time, quite apart from in the hands of different readers ...', David McKitterick wrote in 2003 in his *Print, manuscript and the search for order, 1450–1830*, presenting this confident statement as a consensus, to which one might add 'and different historians'. The case studies in the present book confirm the validity of his statement regarding the fluidity of texts during production, for they tend to highlight instability in textual transmission; however, it is crucial that they are all limited to the narrow time frame of less than the first half-century of printing, by definition a phase of transition. It is therefore not my intention to contribute to a continuation of the debate about the far more general application of the principle of textual instability.

To return now to the fifteenth-century printing houses: first there are the editors. Sometimes it was the printer himself, or often, then as now, a specialist who made a critical assessment of the text and amended it where he deemed necessary. Whether vernacular or Latin, care was taken that an adequate version of the text was reproduced, an aim not necessarily achieved in the first edition. Once a text had been disseminated in print and had reached multiple readers, a critical process might be set in motion, directing the printer (or a successor, or a competitor) to better versions. A well-known and much researched instance is the textual improvement in the four successive editions of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* printed in the fifteenth century, but it is not difficult to quote other examples. In the present collection the three Venetian editions of Cicero's Orations, discussed pp. 228–253, serve as another striking example of a printer incorporating the results of a century of modern humanist scholarship into his publication of a classical text. The revisions in the third edition of the Orations printed in Venice were clearly the work of a learned scholar. Other examples of editorial activity of this kind by both named and anonymous editors in editions intended for scholarly readers are numerous. But at lower levels it is remarkable that for practically each of the instances of surviving printer's copy that I have

listed, diverse as they are, it can be shown that some corrections were made before the copy was handed over to compositors. There is apparently a universal tendency to go over a text, even if only superficially, before it is multiplied in print. Textual interference need not end until the book has left the printing house.

Every text appearing in print is the result of the work of compositors. To paraphrase Lucien Febvre's introduction to *l'Apparition du livre*: from the middle of the fifteenth century very peculiar scribes began to appear—they were compositors. In my discussions I have generally assumed they were men, with sincere apologies to the nuns of San Jacopo di Ripoli. It has long been recognised that when copying a text, scribes could actively take part in creating a new form—even that they were advised to do so: 'Nihil scriptor operatur, corde si non meditatur', admonishes the *Dialogus creaturarum*. Not only did the scribe have to understand the text, his task was also to keep it alive and, particularly with vernacular prose, to refresh it, thus ensuring that readers could engage with it in the immediacy of their own time. We can see how this function was intensified and accelerated in the environment of printing houses. 'Artificial writing', as it was called in the fifteenth century, should not necessarily be defined as purely mechanical copying. Texts passed not only through the compositors' fingers, but also through their minds. The active participation of compositors in re-forming the text often can be observed, most pronouncedly in vernacular languages—as is evident in several of the following studies—but occasionally it is also perceptible in Latin, the first book printed in Oxford being an extreme case. Vernacular texts were modernised and might be stripped of regional characteristics in order to be presented 'as new', and viable for a larger or a different market than that characterised by the original language forms. Printer's copy shows that the compositors were working, as it were, on the front lines, and actively contributed to the development of a generally accepted presentation of a particular language. We can see, for example, in Poggio's *Historia fiorentina* that compositors did not change the vocabulary but did modify the characteristics of Florentine spelling. Obviously they had strict instructions not to deviate verbally from copy as provided to the printer in the state approved by the master himself or by an editor, but they still changed aspects of the language. The changes were not marked in the exemplar they used, and this is instructive: the compositors of this book were expected to work independently in matters of spelling and word division, perhaps following a general indication. Similarly, the compositors of Wynkyn de Worde's reprint of *The Book of St Albans* modernised its spelling, although it was not marked in the printed copy that had been prepared for the press and from which they worked. In both of these cases compositors continued or extended the work of an editor.

A variation on this theme is a vernacular text, accurately reprinted but introducing strong characteristics of a different region, undoubtedly in order to appeal to a new market. Gheraert Leeu's edition of a translation of Jacobus de Cessolis, *De ludo scacchorum* (1479), in western forms of Dutch, was reprinted shortly after in Zwolle in the eastern part of the Low Countries with great verbal accuracy but consistently respelled with broad eastern forms appropriate to the region. The actual printer's copy does not survive, but based on the instances of printer's copy of vernacular texts it is now very probable that the task of consistent adaptation was left to the compositor.

Over time, compositors' position of independence changed, and with it publishers' reliance on their sensitivity to language. This was connected with editors and authors—their numbers rising steeply—demanding more control over what the press produced, in what David McKitterick (in his book mentioned above) characterised as 'a period of anxiety at … the inaccuracy in the printed book' from the mid-sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. This development falls outside the scope of the present studies.

Proofreading is another matter. Where printer's copy was studied in some detail, it was possible to establish in several cases that no proofreading had taken place, as is not unexpected in, for example, a romance such as *The history of Jason*, but less expected in the otherwise careful execution of the printing of Poggio's *Historia fiorentina*. Corrected proofs from the early years of printing are very rare. The survival of extensive evidence, the massive proofreading exercise of Duranti's *Rationale divinorum officiorum* in the printing house of Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer in 1459, is therefore highly fortunate. Apart from revealing the great care given to this manual of liturgical instruction, it also brings immediate insight into the practices of this very early printing house, and provides much material to answer one question: What happened to the text?

Printer's copy of the fifteenth century is now recognised in documents in Latin, Greek, German, Italian, French, Dutch, and English. Survival seems to favour texts with literary connotations, history, and pseudo-history, and there are a few instances of the scriptures and theological works; as such, they are not representative of the great variety of what appeared in print during the incunable period. I have listed the forty instances known at present, summarising the features in so far as discussed in the various publications about them. Undoubtedly, many more such instances remain to be discovered, and they may eventually change our understanding of printing-house practices in the early years. To date, the interpretation of marks in printer's copy has already increased our general understanding of transmission in print, and allows inferences to be made about the production of a much wider range of material.

All that connects the texts I discuss in the present book is that survival has permitted a view of procedures in early printing houses, the detailed comparison of phases of transmission providing evidence for the way texts were affected by these procedures. Texts remain alive as long as they lead to interaction, which can be exemplified by the work of those who reproduce them: the editors, compositors, and correctors who engage with them and—one might say—re-create them, as in the performing arts. Through the eyes of readers a new life awaits them. While in production in the printing house, as they are destined to be multiplied by mechanical means, we can observe these migrant texts as they are on their way to new environments, new readers. They are made to leave behind earlier guises, but part of the evolving form is an enduring element of immutability by which they retain their identity while they are adapted to future destinations: they are texts in transit.

Press and Text in the First Decades of Printing

The invention of setting texts in movable type and multiplying them by print-
ing set in motion a long succession of further inventions, improvements, and
extensions of what could be achieved with the marvellous newly discovered
technique. Most of these secondary inventions were typographical, but one
consisted of a major modification of the construction and mechanics of print-
ing presses; this was the transition from one-pull presses, which printed one
half of a sheet with one folio page at a time, to two-pull presses, which enabled
the printing of the whole side of a sheet, consisting of, for example, two pages
of folio format. It was a purely mechanical improvement, yet it had a pro-
found and lasting impact on the production of continuous texts: the new press
required that the typeset matter for all the (future) pages of text which were
to be printed on one side of a sheet be combined and enclosed in a forme; the
formes placed on the press therefore consisted of sections of text which would
be printed in a single operation (with two pulls of the press), but which mostly
did not form a continuous part of the text.

Therefore, once the modified press was introduced, the procedures for pre-
paring texts for printing had to be radically adjusted. Text had to be divided
up in advance, into the sections which corresponded to future pages. A sim-
ilar procedure had been known from the beginning of printing (and indeed
in manuscript production), but initially served a different purpose: the manu-
script or printed book that was to be the exemplar from which compositors
worked was first used as a basis for a fairly rough count establishing the overall
size of the book, and hence the material structure of the text in quires: how best
to divide up the total of leaves. Before printing began, the basic quire structure
of a future book had to be determined in advance; this process was unavoidable
until at some time in the distant future, centuries later, supplies of typographi-
cal material—or new technology—allowed printers to set a whole book before
it went to press. In preparation for printing on the one-pull press, estimates of
page-ends were marked in the printer's copy, and subsequently compositors
would add their own marks showing where they had actually completed pages.
As they progressed page by page through the text or a section of text, there
was considerable flexibility in accommodating the text in the spaces allocated
by the precalculation.[1] But with the introduction of the new kind of press, the

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[1] For a more extensive discussion, see the section 'The Text in the Printing House', pp. 37–66,
    particularly Appendix, pp. 57–61.

delineation of blocks of text as future pages served primarily to ensure that the pages to be printed all at the same time on one side of a whole sheet would fit together precisely as a continuous text once a quire was finished. These 'cast-off' sections were then processed by compositors in a disrupted order which did not correspond to consecutive reading. Not until the printing process of a whole quire was completed would the text be put together again, in the form of printed sheets folded together.

The forecast of the future page had to be accurate, and compositors were to follow carefully the indications made in advance and marked on their exemplar. With the two-pull press there was hardly any margin for error: the parts (the pages) had to be fitted precisely, as if constructing a ship, a building, or a piece of fine furniture, otherwise the text, once put together again, would fail to make sense, or would at least be flawed. Once the new kind of press was installed in printing houses, the craft of building books entered a new phase.

The tasks compositors faced can occasionally be followed in detail in the scarce instances where an exemplar survives, as discussed in the essay on printer's copy, pp. 37–66. Success in the execution of such careful fitting of blocks of text could be considered as achieved when the process remained invisible. Occasionally errors have left lasting scars, but in the vast majority of early printing, the seams that existed temporarily while the text was being processed are invisible to almost every reader. As a consequence, it is usually difficult to establish on examining an early printed book whether it was printed by the 'old' or the 'new' method, on an old 'one-pull' or a modern 'two-pull' press, and hence to understand whether the text had progressed through the printing house as a consecutive text or one fragmented into units of composition. There is, however, one feature that allows one to establish beyond doubt whether a printer had worked with a small, one-pull press. This is the use of divided half-sheets for printing books in quarto. From the 1970s on, several bibliographers have observed independently this practice in printing houses in Cologne, Paris, Gouda, Louvain, and Westminster, and they noted that in due course it seemed to have been abandoned in favour of full-sheet printing. Their observations motivated me to investigate half-sheet printing of quartos further, and to extend the examination of early editions in quarto format to other areas of printing by surveying a larger sample of copies. It was not a great leap to infer that the change in this practice signalled an otherwise undocumented development of the early printing press.

This development has not attracted much attention in the study of early printing. Briefly, in the generation of pioneers who investigated the Gutenberg Bible and other early Mainz printing around 1900, only Paul Schwenke observed that the Bible had been printed page by page, by noting that pinholes in paper

copies showed that the recto pages were always printed first.[2] A few years
later, in an immensely detailed study of some of the missals printed by Peter
and Johann Schoeffer between 1483 and 1513, Adolph Tronnier established—
apparently to his own surprise—that the missals printed in the 1490s were
printed with full sheets (or 'by formes'). He suggested that more research would
be required on the missal printed in 1483.[3] These bibliographers left aside the
question of the nature of the press on which these large books were printed. In
1925 Konrad Haebler discussed the two methods of printing in his *Handbuch
der Inkunabelkunde*, under the heading 'Druckerpresse'.[4] He sought to estab-
lish the order in which pages were printed by observing the indentations in the
paper made by the impression of the type. When one side of a whole sheet is
printed by combining the pages in a forme and then printing them in a single
operation of the press, there is always a combination of recto and verso pages,
whatever the bibliographical format. Therefore, if it can be shown that, for
example, all recto pages within a quire were printed first, the book was printed
page by page and probably in the sequential order of the text (the order called
'seriatim'). Haebler's logic is impeccable but his method fallible, for it can be
very difficult to establish with certainty the priority of impressions, especially
if over the years a book has been bound more than once. It is therefore not
surprising that Haebler's conclusion is only partly correct. He stated that from
about 1470, books were generally printed by formes, not by page. Without going
into great detail, he described in a few words the working of the two-pull press.[5]

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2 Paul Schwenke, *Festschrift zur Gutenbergfeier* (Berlin, 1900), p. 47, wrote about the Gutenberg
   Bible: 'Man hat schon längst erkannt, dass der Druck seitenweis erfolgte. Der Bogen musste
   also gefaltet aufgelegt werden'. He does not quote discussions or evidence quoted in earlier
   literature. Karl Dziatzko's studies of the Gutenberg Bible, published from 1890, did not touch
   on the order of typesetting and printing. Schwenke's observation is repeated in the posthu-
   mously published *Ergänzungsband* to the facsimile edition of the Gutenberg Bible (Leipzig,
   1923), p. 40.

3 Adolph Tronnier, 'Die Missaldrucke Peter Schöffers und seines Sohnen Johann', in *Veröffent-
   lichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft* (Mainz, 1908), V–VII. 28–220 (p. 94).

4 Konrad Haebler, *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 65–66. In a later chapter
   with the title 'Formen' (pp. 72–79), he returned to the question of setting per page and by
   formes. See the discussion of Haebler on this issue below, pp. 229–231. Fibre-optic lights or
   other concentrated oblique light can be a help in establishing which side of a leaf was printed
   first, but only when the state of conservation of the book has allowed these traces to survive,
   for example, when it has not been pressed by binders, or when the paper has not been washed.
   The interpretation of these marks remains difficult under any circumstances, and can seldom
   be repeated in more than one copy.

5 It was only well after the publication of Haebler's *Handbuch* that the earliest presses became

Although noted by Haebler, the issue of the order of typesetting and printing in incunabula, and hence that of textual transmission in early printing, did not spark interest until a good many years later. In 1991 Giuseppe Lombardi published an extensive analysis of the use of Niccolò Perotti's manuscript for his *Rudimenta grammatices*, printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1473; he remarked in a footnote that the introduction of setting and printing non-seriatim, by formes, would have taken place with the development of a new type of press, which in Italy would have been after 1470; Sweynheym and Pannartz probably used presses which printed one page at a time.[6] At the time of writing, Lombardi noted, this had not been studied. My investigation, first published in 1997, indicates that this is indeed the case, and that many established printers continued with their one-pull presses, while others were in a position to invest in two-pull presses.

My survey of quarto printing in incunabula presented in the present study modifies Haebler's conclusion. The beginning of full-sheet printing, and hence the introduction of the two-pull press, can indeed be confirmed to have taken place not long after 1470, in Rome, but it took at least 10 years for the innovation to penetrate to the outer reaches of the world of printing. I also have

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the object of scholarly studies. Early presses were well illustrated by Karl Dieterichs, *Die Buchdruckpresse von Johannes Gutenberg bis Friedrich König* (Mainz, 1930), where he suggested that the direct ancestor of printing presses was the press used for papermaking. James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (London, 1973), is equally well illustrated. Moran gives a very clear description of the development, from using a downward-acting screw, known since Antiquity, to the contraption of screw with a spindle. A more concise but useful survey of early presses is presented by Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 118 sqq. The earliest presses described by Dieterichs, Moran, and Gaskell are all two-pull presses; James Mosley similarly describes two-pull presses in his authoritative essay 'The Technologies of Print', in Michael F. Suarez and Henry R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford, 2010), I. 89–104 (p. 94). Michael Pollak, 'The Daily Performance of a Printing Press in 1476: Evidence from a Hebrew Incunable', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1974*, pp. 119–126, showed that it is possible to interpret a colophon in a Hebrew incunable, Jacob ben Asher, *Orah Hayim* (Mantua, Abraham Conat, 1476), as referring to printing with a two-pull press. See also Adriaan K. Offenberg, *A Choice of Corals: Facets of Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Printing* (Nieuwkoop, 1992), p. 34. The results of the present study show that it would not have been impossible for a two-pull press to have operated in Mantua in the year 1476, and its novelty might well explain why it was mentioned in a colophon at that time.

6 Giuseppe Lombardi, 'L'editio princeps dei "Rudimenta grammatices" di Niccolò Perotti', in G. Lombardi and T. Sampieri (eds.), *Cultura umanistica a Viterbo: Per il v centenario della stampa a Viterbo 1488–1988* (Viterbo, 1991), pp. 123–152 (p. 138, n. 40).

reservations and am cautious about the outcome of this survey, but my reservations are rather different from those that apply to Haebler. By coincidence, I began this survey in 1980, the year when another enterprise was started which would systematically demonstrate that such a survey could only have a strictly relative value. The second enterprise was the ISTC database, which in its early years was capable of rapid growth by combining the elementary short-titles of incunabula in collections in North America recorded in Goff's *Census* with those in major collections elsewhere. With every expansion of the ISTC it has been shown, mercilessly, how small the proportion was of the early books I could realistically examine in detail for my survey.

This is an experience which in the last several decades has become familiar to researchers in many branches of knowledge, usually on a scale much larger than that of fifteenth-century printing. Electronic media introduce into research not only a new methodology but also a new discipline. Through databases it has become possible to obtain access to a range of information far beyond what was feasible before the era of new technology. Whether he (or she) likes it or not, the researcher is obliged to live in a larger world, or to travel, map in hand, in a much extended landscape. The map is provided by the data of his database, giving him confidence and security, but, like many travellers, he will have to reconcile himself to the idea that he will have to leave many places unvisited and many stones unturned, although he is perfectly aware that they are there. The discipline lies in selection and in the refinement of definition: what can be attained from the totality of material concerned when working within the constraints of available resources and time.

It is also good to set out at once some other limitations on the absolute value of the study's findings when attempting to trace the beginning of the introduction of the two-pull press, which occurred some decades after the invention of printing with movable type. As I shall explain below, this can best be established by examining the production methods of editions in quarto format. By examining the pattern of the distribution of watermarks in the folded sheets as found in books, it is usually possible to establish unambiguously whether a quarto edition was printed on divided half-sheets or whether full sheets were put on the press. In the latter case we can be certain that the printer had a press which could accommodate at least a forme corresponding to a whole sheet of the smallest and most commonly used size of paper (known as Chancery), or to a whole sheet of one of the larger sizes of paper (Median, Royal, or Imperial).[7]

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7   For paper sizes used by printers in the fifteenth century, see P. Needham's contribution 'The Paper of English Incunabula', in BMC XI, pp. 311–334 (p. 312).

Development of Printing Presses in the Early Decades of Printing

The following description of printing presses will only be clear when looking at a good illustration.[8] The size of the platen was limited and could cover only half of the tympan in one pull. The difference from the original (one-pull) mechanism of the press was not that the platen was larger, but that an assembly with a base comprising the coffin with the press-stone, on which typeset forme, tympan, and frisket were placed (together called the carriage), could be moved and slid below the platen; when one half of the sheet was printed by bringing the platen down (the first pull), the assembly could be slid further, to bring the other half of the sheet below the platen for the second pull. This type of press is therefore called the two-pull press.[9] The innovation in the structure of the original press would enable printing one side of a sheet in two pulls without the need for further imposition—whether it consisted of two pages in folio format, four pages in quarto format, or eight pages in octavo format—instead of twice having to prepare a forme to print only one half of a sheet. The significant saving in time and effort required for printing had to be balanced against the greater complication of imposing formes with more than two pages in cases of formats smaller than folio. This is an early example of an advance in technology making further demands on the skills of those who have to operate it. For some time the practice of printing on half-sheets was continued in parallel with printing on full sheets, and this may not always have been due to circumstances in which more sophisticated presses were fully committed to the printing of large books.

The observation that initially quartos were printed on divided half-sheets, and later on full sheets, is the most unambiguous indication that there had been a development in the operation of presses. The earliest illustrations of printing presses date from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and suggest that there was nothing much to separate these presses from the earliest surviving wooden hand presses, dating possibly from the early seventeenth century. The earliest detailed descriptions, on which descriptions in modern handbooks are based, date from the second half of the sixteenth century. They all have in common the assembly of a carriage able to move for two pulls with a stone on which the forme is placed. The two-pull press, however, was not the

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8   See note 5 above.

9   A brief description of the technical innovation and its implications for the speed of produc-
    tion, are in Leonhard Hoffmann, 'Druckleistungen in der Inkunabeloffizin', in: *Zur Arbeit mit
    dem Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke: Vorträge der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 26. bis
    30. November 1979 in Berlin* [Beiträge aus der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek 9] (Berlin, 1989),
    pp. 123–124.

type of press used by Gutenberg to print his Bible a page at a time, or, to give another early example, for Fust and Schoeffer's Duranti, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of 1459, discussed elsewhere in this volume, where the evidence for printing a page at a time is equally unambiguous.[10] There are single instances in books printed in-folio in the 1460s and early 1470s where errors indicate that they were printed a page at a time, suggesting that this was the method in general use by all printers active at that time. One example in a well-known book is the omission (in mid-text) of the printing of a verso page in the edition (in folio) of the first book printed in English, the *Recuyell of the histories of Troy*, of 1473–1474.[11]

There are no contemporary illustrations of presses which could print only a half-sheet at a time, nor is any documentation sufficiently specific to allow more than speculation on how they functioned. Starting with what we do know—the limitation to half-sheets in quartos—we can deduce that the tympan (if the press used a tympan) corresponded to the size of the platen and equalled the size of one folio page. This meant that the half-sheets were printed with one pull of the press. Therefore, there would not have been a need for a second move of the carriage as we know it from the later presses, and these presses may even have been fixed, like oil and wine presses, or the presses operating with a spindle which were used by papermakers.[12] In an intermediate development from fixed press to one-pull press, carriages may have been used to bring a single folio page below the platen. However, if one considers the reality of the practice of a printer's workshop, it is clear that fixed presses, one-pull presses, and two-pull presses could be available side by side. Once the two-pull press was invented as an improvement on the original one, it did *not* mean that the one-pull presses in the printing houses were immediately discarded. Even where new presses were introduced, old presses continued to be used alongside them, as economy and convenience dictated. It follows (as we shall see) that finding quartos printed on divided half-sheets in a particular printing house does not mean that there was no two-pull press in the house.

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10   See pp. 116–117.

11   Raoul Le Fèvre, *Recueil des histoires de Troies*, transl. William Caxton (Flanders (Ghent?), William Caxton with David Aubert (?), 1473–1474). ISTC il00117000, GW M17449. In one of the copies in the Bodleian Library, page [d]1ᵇ has been left blank, see Bod-inc L-060, first copy (Auct. QQ sup. 1.2ᵃ).

12   Karl Dieterichs (see n. 5 above) suggested that the papermakers' presses were the direct ancestors of the earliest printing press.

Therefore, the figures which result from my sampling cannot be treated as absolutes. They should never allow a bibliographer to derive a strict *terminus* for a printing date on the grounds that either half-sheet or full-sheet printing can be established, although there may be grounds for introducing an element of likelihood. Where a printer consistently printed his quartos on full sheets, like Johannes Schurener in Rome, there may even be grounds for arguing that some editions doubtfully attributed to him and printed on half-sheets are more likely the products of another printing house.[13] In spite of the uncertainties, a pattern emerges which is consistent enough to perceive that a technical innovation, and consequently a change in production methods, spread in the early 1470s from the printing houses in Rome and Naples until it reached the more peripheral areas of printing in the northwest of Europe.

The Production of Texts in the Printing Houses

The purpose of this study was not directed towards examining technical improvements per se, but towards gaining an understanding of the production of texts in the printing houses. As set out above, the distinction of printing per page, or by half-sheet, from printing by formes, on full sheets, is a crucial preliminary to understanding of the process of transmission. Tracing the spread of the innovation of the press meant also tracing the changes in the tasks faced by compositors. Some printers producing a quarto edition on divided half-sheets printed a page at a time. This, however, was a very primitive method (observed in some early quartos of Ulrich Han in Rome, early books printed by Ulrich Zell in Cologne, and in the first book printed in Oxford in 1478). Usually, however, the half-sheet quartos were imposed two pages at a time, the size of the forme equalling that of a folio page. Nevertheless, this was much simpler than imposing a full quarto forme. We should beware, however, of thinking that the easier option was always chosen. Ursula Baurmeister brought to light an example of a printer opting for an imposition more complicated than what was probably current at that time. The first of the two books Clemens of Padua produced in Venice was an edition in octavo of pseudo-Augustinus, *De virtute psalmorum*, with the date 26 March 1471. On the basis of the regular distribution of the watermarks Baurmeister observed that this small book was imposed on full sheets, four pages at a time having passed through the press. An octavo printed

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13   For example, see four 'doubtful editions' listed at BMC IV, p. 59.

on quarter-sheets would have been more common at that time, again using the two-page imposition scheme.[14] The printer was at that time preparing a very large book, Mesue's *Opera*,[15] and one may wonder if he had perhaps sufficient type to set all 16 very small pages of each quire of the Augustinus before imposing them. These are the only two books known to be printed by Clemens of Padua, and both his very large and his very small book appear to remain isolated products.

The remarks about the production of text are, of course, not confined to books in quarto format. It is, however, the format for which the distinction between half-sheets and full sheets—and therefore the use of the one-pull and the two-pull presses—can be established beyond doubt in the vast majority of instances. It is particularly difficult to establish this beyond doubt in editions in-folio, unless printer's copy survives to enlighten us about the procedures used, or unless something had gone evidently wrong in the printing house.[16] Smaller formats have their own complications.

The present study sets out to explore whether sampling quarto editions may serve to identify 'markers' (as geneticists would call them) for the presence of either a one-pull press or a two-pull press in a particular printing house, and for the production methods associated with the presses. As a 'marker' it should add further stress to my note of caution, for it can do no more than alert us to what procedures we may expect to encounter when studying the production of text in a particular printing house. Also, where the transition from one-pull press to two-pull press in a particular printing house can be pinpointed as a result of analysis of its entire production, it informs us about its technical renewal as part of its history.

From the preceding paragraphs it will be clear that I fully subscribe to the idea that several production methods can be distinguished for what is generically called a quarto edition (for these can be printed one page, two pages, or four pages at a time), and for that matter, folio editions as well (printed either one page or two pages at a time). The same principle can be extended to octavo editions (and smaller formats), which, we have become aware, could be printed

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14   ISTC ia01348300, GW 0303610N. Ursula Baurmeister, 'Clement de Padoue, enlumineur et premier imprimeur italien?', *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 1990/1991, pp. 19–28. The unique copy is in Paris, BnF, Rés B. 7061, CIBN A-771.

15   ISTC im00508000, GW M23048, in-fol. on Median paper, 204 leaves.

16   Analysis of surviving printer's copy can show unambiguously that texts were set seriatim, for example, works printed at Subiaco (see pp. 156–167 in the present volume), in Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz, and by Jacobus Rubeus in Venice.

two, four, or eight pages at a time (and possibly even one page at a time).[17] I doubt, however, that from the point of view of descriptive bibliography this distinction should be included as part of the bibliographical identification of a book in the same way as what is commonly known as the 'bibliographical format'. The bibliographical format is based on a simple principle: it is established on the number of times the whole sheet was folded and, in the case of formats smaller than in-folio, subsequently cut. For example, a quarto is a book in which a full sheet (paper or vellum) is folded twice, producing eight pages. The specific information on the cutting of the sheets before printing is significant only in the context of the production of the text, or of the bibliographical description of an entire printing house. It is no more or no less significant for the understanding of the production of texts than the fact that a folio edition is printed one page at a time. This information is hardly ever included in a standard bibliographical description. The recent trend in catalogues of auction houses—where descriptions include the formulaic information (where applicable) that in-quarto editions were printed on divided half-sheets, along with the size of the original sheet (e.g. 'Chancery quarto in half-sheets'), but not whether an edition in folio is printed a page at a time—strikes me as inconsistent. It has not been followed so far in the bibliographical description of major collections.[18] This said, I must add that the fashion has usefully confirmed many of my findings and somewhat extended the sample.[19]

Defining the Question

The phenomenon of printing quartos on divided half-sheets has attracted the attention of several bibliographers, each working independently on a separate

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17   Cf. P. Needham, 'ISTC as a Tool for Analytical Bibliography', in L. Hellinga and J. Goldfinch (eds.), *Bibliography and the Study of 15th-Century Civilisation* (London, 1987), pp. 39–54 (pp. 44–45).

18   In BMC XI I have specified divided half-sheets for editions in quarto and added a separate note if the book (in any format) was printed on paper other than Chancery size. The catalogue of the incunabula in the Bodleian Library does not make this distinction.

19   I have made use of the following auction catalogues: Christie's, New York, 22 October 1987 (Doheny sale); Sotheby's, London, 16 November 1989 (Abrams sale); Sotheby's, New York, 12 December 1991 (Schøyen sale); Sotheby's, London, 1 July 1994 (Donaueschingen sale; in this catalogue recording of half-sheets ended with lot 38); Christie's, London, 2 November 1994; and Christie's, London, 29 November 1995. I also used the catalogue of incunabula in the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica that was compiled by Margaret Lane Ford, *Christ, Plato, Hermes Trismegistus* (Amsterdam, 1990).

and well-defined area of printing. It is no coincidence that each of them was interested in questions of textual transmission as well as in the history of individual printing houses. The earliest publication was Francis Jenkinson's study of Ulrich Zell's quarto editions, in which he concisely explained the principle of half-sheet printing, one page at a time. He presented it in a Sandars lecture in Cambridge in 1908, which was not published until 1926, as a posthumous article.[20] Margaret L. Ford noted that another Cologne printer, Arnold ther Hoernen, printed a quarto by formes on half-sheets for the first time no later than March 1472, shortly after he printed an edition in folio for the first time.[21] Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer discussed the process in two studies on the early presses in Paris, presented in 1973 and 1976 and reprinted in her collected studies *La lettre et le texte*.[22] Working on an extensive examination of material, she established for the four earliest presses active in Paris (Friburger, Gering, and Krantz; Pierre César; Au Soufflet Vert; and for Pasquier and Jean Bonhomme) a transition in the methods of producing quarto editions, of which these printers published many. In the years 1477 and 1478 the transition took place from printing two quarto pages at a time on sheets divided in half, as if they were small folios, to imposing the four pages on a full sheet. Since Veyrin-Forrer's material was extensive, based on many copies in many collections, these results can be considered as final.

Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer's findings were strikingly similar to my own when, around the time she was conducting her research, I investigated the work of the Dutch printer Gheraert Leeu, who worked in Gouda between 1477 and 1484,

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20   Francis Jenkinson, 'Ulrich Zell's Early Quartos', *The Library*, 4th ser. 7 (1926), pp. 46–66.

21   Margaret L. Ford, 'Author's Autograph and Printer's Copy: Werner Rolewinck's Paradisus conscientiae', in Martin Davies (ed.), *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga* (London, 1999), pp. 109–128 (p. 116, n. 7). Ford notes that the earliest quarto printed by Ther Hoernen by formes on divided half-sheets is Petrus de Alliaco, *Meditationes circa Psalmos Poenitentiales*, ISTC ia00479000, GW M31978, Voulliéme Köln 911, which is datable to 'before March 1472'. She dates his earliest printing on full sheets to 1476, with reference to Herbert Naumann, *Untersuchungen zur Technik des frühen Kölner Buchdrucks* (unpublished thesis at the Bibiothekar-Lehrinstitut, Cologne, 1957).

22   Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'Aux origines de l'imprimerie française: L'atelier de la Sorbonne et ses mécènes (1470–1473)' and 'Le deuxième atelier typographique de Paris: Cesaris et Stol', both reprinted in her *La lettre et le texte: Trente années de recherches sur l'histoire du livre* (Paris, 1987), pp. 161–187 and 189–212. Most information included in her contribution to Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française*, vol. II, entitled 'Fabriquer un livre au XVIe siècle', applies equally to the fifteenth century after the introduction of the two-pull press.

and in Antwerp from 1484 until his death in 1492. I had examined many copies of all his works produced in this period, and I had come to the conclusion that the quarto editions he produced in the years 1477, 1478, and 1479 were printed on divided half-sheets, whereas from sometime in 1480 onwards his quartos were printed on regular full sheets. In this case the transition coincided with a general renewal of his typographical material. My husband, Wytze Hellinga, established half-sheet printing for the earliest presses active in the Southern Netherlands from 1473 onwards, when these books received particular attention in the year of the quincentenary celebrations of printing in the Netherlands.[23] In this case the research, although based on the examination of many copies, was not extended to later years, and therefore the time of transition was not defined. Finally, when Dr Paul Needham and I had started to work independently on early printing in England, we found that we had both noted half-sheet printing for the early Caxton quartos, a finding that could later be extended to early printing in Oxford and at St Albans. In England the transition took place in Oxford in 1479, about the year 1480 for Caxton, whereas the *Exempla Sacrae Scripturae* printed in St Albans in 1481 is printed on divided half-sheets. In due course we examined most of the surviving copies of books printed in England in that period, and I do not expect these dates to vary significantly in the future.[24] The early technique and the fact that there was a transition were therefore independently established with a high degree of certainty for three distinct areas of printing in Northwest Europe: Paris, two printing houses in the Netherlands, and England. The time span for the transition to full-sheet printing of quartos—1477/1478 (for Paris), 1479/1480 (for Oxford and Westminster), and 1480 (for Gouda)—was remarkably close and suggested that this innovation spread rapidly, and must have been considered a significant improvement by the early printers, well worth an investment in modern 'hardware'. In one respect our combined findings offered a somewhat simplified first impression: all books examined were printed on divided half-sheets of Chancery paper, the standard sheet size for quartos in the printing houses on which we concentrated.

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23   W. Hellinga, 'Impressum Alosti. Jn Flandria, 1473', *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 70–72.

24   Later investigations built on the insight gained in the earlier studies. At the symposium held in 1984 to inaugurate the ISTC database, Paul Needham discussed possible refinements of the short-title format, and included miscellaneous examples of early half-sheet and quarter-sheet printing of small formats in his paper 'ISTC as a Tool for Analytical Bibliography', see n. 17 above. Ursula Baurmeister investigated editions printed in-8⁰ before 1472, as represented in the BnF in her article on Clemens of Padua (see above n. 14), p. 24, n. 1.

The Sample

At this point the question arose as to whether the late 1470s was really a universal date for the transition, and a logical step was to sample quarto editions from a number of other centres of printing with a larger impact than Gouda, Westminster, or even the early presses of Paris. I sampled the early presses of Subiaco and Rome, Venice, Naples, Milan, Florence, and Bologna; north of the Alps I added Mainz, Strasbourg, and Cologne, as well as some books printed in Louvain at a later date, to the places about which we were already informed. My initial sample, as undertaken in 1980, was the work of these presses as represented in quarto editions in the British Library. Although a collection is of course an arbitrary sample, the incunabula collection of the British Library, with almost 11,000 separate editions, represents overall roughly 40 per cent of all surviving printed editions of the fifteenth century, estimated at between 28,000 and 28,500. Although quarto editions generally have survived in fewer and more dispersed copies than folios, the ISTC database, recording 14,461 incunable editions in quarto, of which 5,400 are represented in the British Library, indicates that the collection is more than adequate as a basis for sampling. If we split the quarto editions overall into an earlier and a later group, the quartos printed before 1481 are even better represented in the British Library: out of a total of 2,591 recorded to date on the ISTC, 1,138 are in the British Library.

At the time when I began this study, in 1980, the British Library seemed a good starting point, even the best possible one, and we can now assess with increasing accuracy to what degree it is representative of incunable-production in so far as surviving. Although some areas of printing are much better represented in the collection than others, the initial sampling provided an overall picture which so far has not changed significantly, even with the examination of incunabula in some other collections in order to widen the range.[25] Extensive sampling failed to come up with any quartos printed on divided half-sheets after the middle of the 1480s, and in the Italian cities after 1480.

Apart from defining the limitations of the sample, the ISTC database added an important element to the survey by the dates it systematically supplies for each undated edition. The BMC refrained from supplying dates, since at the

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25   Apart from the help received in Naples and Bologna, acknowledged below, n. 39, 40, I
     extended the sample by examining copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Cambridge
     University Library; the BnF, where Ursula Baurmeister very kindly gave additional infor-
     mation; and the Beinecke Library.

time the incunabulists judged that for satisfactory results more external information would be required than could justifiably be obtained for the catalogue of a collection, even such a large one. Almost a century later, the ISTC builds on a hundred years of research and cataloguing by innumerable bibliographers and experts. The dates in the database, although not immutable, overall provide a satisfactory basis for setting the data in a timescale.

Establishing the Pattern

The principle for establishing the pattern of printing on divided half-sheets is very simple. In the fifteenth century, quires of editions in quarto usually consisted of more than one sheet folded together: quartos in eights (with two sheets), or quartos in tens (two and a half sheets). Only where a textual sequence had to be completed in a space not conforming to this pattern are we likely to encounter quires of two, four, or six leaves. In a sheet printed in full (on a two-pull press) and folded twice to form a quarto format (the chain-lines in the book running horizontal), we cannot find more than one watermark, visible in two leaves halfway down the inner margin. In a quarto in eights, constructed from two full sheets folded together, no more than four leaves show part of a watermark each. If, therefore, a quire of eight leaves in a quarto edition contains two, six, or eight leaves with watermarks, we can be confident that the book was printed on divided half-sheets. This is the simple model, and fortunately many early quartos conform to this simple pattern. When we find quartos in tens, as we often do in the early years, the decision is not quite so easy to make. Although the fact that this pattern was adopted by the printer for producing a whole book might seem to argue in itself for printing on half-sheets, the practice of quiring in tens continued for some time, using two full sheets with the addition of a half-sheet, usually, but not invariably, for the inner sheet. There are also quartos printed on un-watermarked paper. Of the cities sampled, Milan in particular has many books printed on such paper. When this is the case it is obviously impossible to draw conclusions on the grounds of the pattern of distribution of the watermarks.

The regular pattern of two watermarks in two sheets forming eight quarto leaves will occasionally appear randomly in a quarto printed on half-sheets. Usually it is possible to eliminate a false conclusion by comparison with other copies of the same book, if not by consistent patterns found in the other quires. It is also possible to decide on the pattern of the distribution of mould-side and felt-side of the sheets—'Gregory's law' of the codicologists applied to paper. There are, however, also instances of mixed formats, with mixed paper sizes.

For understanding how formats could be mixed, the following crib may be useful:

Approximate maximum sizes[26]

In mm:	Sheet	Leaf in-folio	Leaf in-quarto	Leaf in-octavo
Chancery	310×450	310×225	225×155	155×112
Median	350×520	350×260	260×175	175×130
Royal	430×620	430×310	310×215	215×155
Imperial	490×740	490×370	370×245	245×122

It follows that a leaf in-folio of Chancery paper can be matched with a quarto leaf printed on a divided half-sheet of Royal paper. The Chrysostomus, *Sermones*, printed c. 1470 in Rome by Georg Lauer is an example of this occurrence.[27] The two copies in the British Library, like copies elsewhere, are both mixed in-folio and quarto. The measurements of the leaves as given in BMC IV (284×199 mm in IB. 17445, the larger of the two copies) indicate that for the folio leaves Chancery paper was used, matching in size the leaves in-quarto made from divided Royal sheets; some of the leaves in-folio in one copy correspond to in-quarto ones in the other. Another example of the mixture of in-folio and in-quarto formats is Franciscus Renner de Heilbron's Bible, printed in Venice in 1480.[28]

Once half-sheet printing was confidently established for a number of books on the basis of the distribution of watermarks, it could be observed that they have another feature in common. In half-sheet quartos the pages are imposed as if for a very small in-folio format, in Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer's words. They usually have an ample head margin, since there was no specific limitation on the space that could be allowed for the top of the page. When imposed as a quarto sheet with four pages, however, the head margins are shorter, for the

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26   The sizes of the full sheets are those given by Paul Needham in his contribution on paper in BMC XI, p. 312.

27   ISTC ij00300000, GW M13349, BMC IV, p. 36.

28   ISTC ib00566000, with a note quoting Paul Needham refuting Curt F. Bühler, confirming the format as in-fol. and in-4⁰, as recorded in BMC, although the BL copy is on vellum; GW 4241, recording the format as in-4⁰ and in-8⁰.

two pages facing one another in the forme (but not in the book as read) had to share a space limited by the size of the sheet. The typeset area therefore stands higher on the page than in a quarto printed on half-sheets.

Finally, a differentiation could be observed in the practice of full-sheet printing for quartos in eights. South of the Alps, printers usually (but not invariably) folded sheets differently. Where tested I found that the printers in the Italian cities usually folded both folds for the two sheets together: take one sheet, put another sheet on top, fold once, fold again, and you have a quire of eight leaves in-quarto with the following imposition format:

9	8	7	10	11	6	5	12
(5^a)	(4^b)	(4^a)	(5^b)	(6^a)	(3^b)	(3^a)	(6^b)
16	1	2	15	14	3	4	13
(8^b)	(1^a)	(1^b)	(8^a)	(7^b)	(2^a)	(2^b)	(7^a)

Printers in centres north of the Alps (where tested) had a different practice: take two sheets, fold each sheet once, separately, then put one folded sheet on top of the other and fold together. This produces the pattern:

Sheet 1				Sheet 2			
13	4	3	14	9	8	7	10
(7^a)	(2^b)	(2^a)	(7^b)	(5^a)	(4^b)	(4^a)	(5^b)
16	1	2	15	12	5	6	11
(8^b)	(1^a)	(1^b)	(8^a)	(6^b)	(3^a)	(3^b)	(6^a)

This means that for 'Italian' quartos printed on full sheets the following rule can be formulated:

> If a watermark is found in leaves 1 and 8, with pages 1, 2, 15, and 16, there cannot be a watermark in leaves 4 and 5 with pages 7, 8, 9, and 10, and vice versa. Equally, if a watermark is found in leaves 2 and 7, with pages 3, 4, 13, and 14, there cannot be a watermark in leaves 3 and 6, with pages 5, 6, 11, and 12, or vice versa.

In the 'Northern' quartos this has to be converted to:

> If a watermark is found in leaves 1 and 8, with pages 1, 2, 15, and 16, there cannot be a watermark in leaves 2 and 7, with pages 3, 4, 13, and 14, or vice versa. If a watermark is found in leaves 3 and 6, with pages 5, 6, 11, and 12, there cannot be a watermark in leaves 4 and 5, with pages 7, 8, 9, and 10, or vice versa.

I have found that the most convenient way of notation is thus the following scheme:

	'Italian'							'Northern'						
leaves	1/8	×	or	o	or	×	or	o	1/8	×	or	o	or	×	or	o
	2/7	×		o		o		×	2/7	o		×		o		×
	3/6	o		×		×		o	3/6	×		×		o		o
	4/5	o		×		o		×	4/5	o		o		×		×
	but not ×-o-o-×, or o-×-×-o								but not o-o-×-×, or ×-×-o-o							

I have noted some but not many exceptions to this rule. It has not been tested for the Iberian Peninsula.

Dimensions of the Press

Before finally turning to specifics there is one last general consideration. As remarked above in the introduction, the 'Northern' quartos, with which the question began, offer a simple model. They were generally printed on the smallest size of paper, Chancery, and the equation is simple: two quarto pages equal one folio page, printed on half of a sheet of Chancery paper. It does not require much imagination to visualise the size of the platen, as it stayed within the limits of half a Chancery sheet, i.e. less than 310×225 mm. Although many of the early books printed in Mainz, Strasbourg, and Nuremberg were printed on larger paper sizes, these were seldom used for quartos.

This was different in the Italian towns. Especially in the early years more quartos were printed on large paper sizes than on Chancery paper, on the same paper stocks as the many folio editions on large paper sizes. From the point of view of text production on the one-pull press, this of course gives

the same equation: two quarto pages on Royal paper equal one folio page. Bibliographically the format is the same, but the dimensions are different, and so is the size of the press: for a page of Royal folio the platen would be closer to 430×310 mm; for Imperial folio, 490×370 mm. This can complicate the issue, for nothing would prevent a printer from printing a quarto on Chancery paper in full sheets on his largest press. But this can also be illuminating. For example, Georgius Lauer printed in 1476 an edition of Johannes Andreae, *Novella super Sexto Decretalium*, on Royal paper, the size of a leaf given in BMC as 400×267 mm.[29] In the same year, he printed on Chancery paper an edition in-quarto of Vergerius, *De ingenuis moribus*, where BMC notes the size of the leaves as 214×140 mm, with a type area of 129×90 mm.[30] The watermarks indicate that it was printed on full sheets. A press that can accommodate a forme with four quarto pages of 214×140 mm may also accommodate a forme with two pages in-folio, each leaf measuring 400×267 mm (and each with a type area of 319×174 mm). It is therefore a reasonable guess that the Andreae, large though it is, was also imposed two pages at a time and printed on a two-pull press. Not everything is so straightforward, however. The Tibullus, *Elegiae*, completed by Lauer on 18 July 1475, a quarto printed on Chancery paper with a type area of 132×90 mm, almost the same as that of the Vergerius, was printed on divided half-sheets.[31] This must have been printed while the very large *Decisiones Rotae Romanae* was at press, the successive parts of which have dates of completion from 21 August to 20 November 1475.[32] Presumably the large press, or presses, were completely committed to the completion of this work.

Results of the Survey

The earliest quarto with full-sheet printing I have found was printed in Rome by Georg Lauer and bears the date February 1472. It is Antoninus, *Confessionale*,[33] a quarto of 132 leaves, and since it survives in at least 25 copies, some of which I could verify, there is no ambiguity in this result. The book was printed on Royal paper. Lauer had started in 1470 with printing his quartos in half-sheets, on Royal as well as on Chancery paper. An error in the printing house in his second

29   ISTC ia00630800, GW 1730, BMC IV, p. 40.

30   ISTC iv00132000, GW M49661, BMC IV, p. 40.

31   ISTC it00368000, GW M47049, copy seen Bod-inc T-206.

32   ISTC id00107200, GW 8203, BMC IV, p. 39.

33   ISTC ia00789000, GW 2087.

edition of Poggio's *Facetiae* (c. 1470–1471) indicates that he set and printed this book seriatim, single pages at a time.[34] Probably still in 1472 he printed another quarto in full sheets on Royal paper, Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatione*.[35] There are no dated quartos recorded for the years 1473 and 1474. We have already seen that in 1475 at least one book, the Tibullus *Elegiae*, was printed on half-sheet Chancery paper; the two methods were therefore practised in parallel within one printing house. From 1476 on, however, Lauer's normal practice seems to have been to print his quartos on full sheets.

It all began in Rome, and it is logical to concentrate first on the Rome printers. As will appear from the survey below, I have attempted to extend the sample with copies in other collections, but I have still left some regrettable gaps, notably from the earliest phase of Sixtus Riessinger's activities. In the list in Appendix I, Rome printers who are not recorded as having printed quarto editions are omitted.[36]

Other printers active before 1474 worked with divided half-sheets. The first printer to follow consistently in Lauer's footsteps is Johann Gensberg, who started in 1474 with a Royal quarto printed on half-sheets, and then from 1475 onwards produced within a short time a large number of quarto editions on Chancery paper, all on full sheets. Ulrich Han, who had regularly produced on half-sheets from 1468 onwards, made the transition not much later, in 1475. Perhaps his brother Wolf Han, who produced books from 1475 with a stock of type provided by Ulrich, was also given an old press, for he printed on half-sheets (with one minor exception) at a time when the practice was starting to be obsolete in Rome. Equally, Arnold Pannartz continued in the old method in 1474 and 1475. New firms, however, starting from scratch, now printed their quartos on full sheets: in 1475 and 1476 Johannes Reinhardi, using Royal and Chancery; Johann Schurener, from 1475 on; and Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, also beginning steady production in 1475. His work has been difficult to distinguish from that of Wendelinus de Wila, and one of the distinguishing features not yet taken into account is that Wendelinus de Wila printed on half-sheets, Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck on full sheets. From then on, printing of quartos on full sheets seems to have been the norm in Rome. It is a format that became characteristic for Rome printing in the following decades. For a full list, see Appendix I.

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34   ISTC ip00854600 and ip00855000, GW M3458310 and GW M34582. See Appendix III to the
      chapter 'Poggio's *Facetiae* in Print' included in the present volume, pp. 196–200.

35   ISTC if00142000, GW 9861.

36   In Appendices I–III the survey is presented as published in 1997. Since then, more quarto
      editions have been recorded in ISTC, but I have not continued my survey.

The course that events had taken in Rome is reflected in several other cities. Naples and Venice were the first to follow. In Naples I have found the first quartos on full sheets in 1474, with Arnaldus de Bruxella, marking the beginning of a consistent production; in Venice full-sheet quartos were produced in the same year by Gabriele di Pietro, followed by Filippo di Pietro a year later. Although it is uncertain what relationship Gabriele and Filippo had with each other, the fact that they had typefaces in common suggests that they were relatives, and it comes as no surprise to see that they even shared some printing procedures. Gabriele used both methods side by side, whereas Filippo printed more consistently on full sheets. Other Venetian printers were only gradually converting to the new practice. Even an innovator like Erhard Ratdolt printed on half-sheets in 1476, 1477, and 1478. Nicolas Jenson, whose famous quartos of the period 1470–1473 were all printed on half-sheets, did not produce quarto editions between 1474 and 1478, but in 1479 he worked on full sheets.[37] There is independent evidence for the printing practice of Jacobus Rubeus. On 8 March 1476 he completed the folio edition of the Italian translation of Poggio's *Historia Florentina* printed page by page, as can be shown by comparing the manuscript used as printer's copy with the printed edition.[38] From the books printed in Naples between 1474 and 1480 which I have seen, I get the impression that printing on full sheets became the norm from the mid-1470s. It is, however, difficult to see a satisfactory number of copies, since they are much dispersed, and I feel less confident about assuming that this date will not change very much: once more editions are examined, the beginning might be established as earlier.[39] The Neapolitan printers who started at a later date, from 1476, all seem to have adopted the practice. Interestingly, Naples therefore seems closely related to the practice of printing in Rome.

Bologna can also be ranged with the cities where the new method is found at an early date. Here, Balthasar Azoguidus and Ugo Rugerius both printed in 1475 quartos on full-sheet Chancery paper. Azoguidus' editions of Antoninus, *Confessionale*, and Joh. Chrysostomos, *Sermones*, therefore represent a

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37   Konrad Haebler's remark, in *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde*, pp. 73–74, based on BMC V, p. 180, IA. 19729, (Mammotrectus) can be confirmed by examining the distribution of watermarks in the book.

38   ISTC ip00873000, GW M34604, BMC V, p. 215. The manuscript used as printer's copy is in the Beinecke Library, Yale MS 32. I had the opportunity to study it during a Beinecke Fellowship in 1990. See pp. 201–217 in the present volume.

39   I am grateful for the help I received in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, when, during an all-too-short visit, I examined a number of early quartos printed in Naples.

new departure in the practices of a printing house established in 1471.[40] Ugo
Rugerius had printed in 1474 and 1475 several books on half-sheets, but his Man-
fredis editions of 1475 and 1476[41] were both on full sheets, whereas Burchiello's
sonnets have two quires printed on half-sheets and the rest on full sheets.[42]
The smaller printers in Bologna—the Printer of Suetonius, Johannes Schriber
de Annunciata, and Johannes Walbeck—all used half-sheet printing, whereas
Dominicus de Lapis produced Galeottus, *Refutatio*, in 1476, and a *Vocabular-
ius* on half-sheets in 1479,[43] but in 1477 his edition of Benedictus de Nursia was
produced on full sheets.[44] Sampling of the quartos printed in Florence generally
gives an impression of printers not being in a hurry to update established meth-
ods. Johannes Petri, printing Petrarch's *Trionfi* with the queried date of 1473,
used half-sheets.[45] The press of San Jacopo di Ripoli started late in 1476 and
used half-sheets for its quarto editions during the following year. From 1478 full
sheets are found, and here the equipment was obviously improved.[46] Nicolaus
Laurentii, whose first books, although undated, can arguably be dated in late
1474 or early 1475,[47] printed his quartos on Royal paper as well as on Chancery
in half-sheets until 1481. Not until the 1480s did full-sheet printing become the
universal practice in Florence.

    Printing in Milan gives much the same impression. Milan printing is dis-
tinguished by having a high proportion of books printed on paper without
watermarks, reducing significantly the number of books on which a reliable
result can be obtained. Nevertheless, the emerging pattern suggests that the
earliest occurrence of full-sheet printing at the press of Pachel and Scinzenzeler

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40   ISTC ia00783000, GW 2076, and ij00301000, GW M13341. In Bologna I was much assisted
    in my pursuit of quartos by colleagues and friends in the University Library and the
    Archiginnasio.

41   ISTC im00193300, im00193500, GW M20569–20570.

42   ISTC ib01287000, GW 5739.

43   ISTC ig00044000, GW M21446, and iv00321300, GW M51136.

44   ISTC ib00314000, GW 3819.

45   ISTC ip00393300, GW M31688; Bod-inc P-162, BMC VI, p. 618.

46   That the transition at San Jacopo di Ripoli took place in the course of 1478 is confirmed by
    Melissa Conway's extensive analysis of the production of this press in her *The Diario of the
    Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli 1476–1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Florence,
    1999). In the list of the publications of this press she notes half-sheet imposition in quartos.
    In 1478 the first quartos printed on full sheets appear along with quartos printed on
    half-sheets (p. 293).

47   ISTC if00150000, GW 9878, BMC VI, pp. 624–625. Cf. C.F. Bühler, 'The First Edition of
    Ficino's De Christiana Religione: A Problem in Bibliographical Description', *Studies in
    Bibliography*, 18 (1965), pp. 248–252.

was in 1480 (their pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditationes*[48]), unless it was, more doubtfully, in their Eusebius Conradus, *Responsio*, of 1479.[49] After 1480 full-sheet printing was established as the norm. In Appendix II below, I show the results of surveying the Italian cities in a more concise form than for Rome, omitting the figures indicating the number of copies sampled. The sample of Venetian and Florentine quartos was limited to copies in the British Library.

The sampling and the two surveys have shown that individual printers within towns could vary considerably in their acceptance of the modification of their practices in the light of a technical improvement. Yet there is a considerable difference between towns: most of the printers in Rome, Naples, Venice, and Bologna were familiar with the two-pull press, full-sheet printing and the imposition of formes associated with it, some five years before their colleagues and competitors in Milan. Florence has an intermediate position in this league table.

Extending the comparison to a few towns north of the Alps, in addition to those which have already been scrutinised in earlier studies, confirms that there is as yet no trace in the north of full-sheet printing before it had been established in some centres in Italy. The new method was sometimes adopted slowly, perhaps even reluctantly. Peter Schoeffer in Mainz is known for his very large folio editions, but over the years he printed some 35 quartos on various paper sizes. Although the presses in Mainz were large enough to accommodate Imperial paper (as for the Hieronymus *Epistolae*, completed in 1470),[50] all quartos to which a firm date can be attached, whether on Chancery paper or on larger sizes, were printed in half-sheets until at least 1480. For Peter Schoeffer himself the first dated edition in-quarto on full sheets is his *Herbarius* of 1484.[51] Likewise, the press in Eltville, which was closely related to the Mainz printers, produced its quarto editions on half-sheets. The Mainz printers offer a particularly clear demonstration that simple imposition methods could be preferred over working procedures that were speedier but more complex and, above all, less familiar. Printers other than Peter Schoeffer did not regularly produce full-sheet quartos either, until Meydenbach and Friedberg were fully equipped to do so in the 1490s.

Strasbourg did not see full-sheet quartos until Knoblochtzer used the method along with half-sheet printing in 1481. Not many quartos were printed there

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48   ISTC ib00917500, GW 4787.

49   ISTC ic00848000, GW 7414.

50   ISTC ih00165000, GW 12424–12425.

51   ISTC ih00062000, GW 12268.

in the early years, but those few were all produced on half-sheets. In the later 1480s printers like Schott, Flach, and Grüninger produced many books in quarto format, all on full sheets. The Cologne printers were equally slow to adopt full-sheet printing, although this was a city that had specialised in quarto printing from 1466 on. The great quarto printers—Ulrich Zell, Arnold ther Hoernen, and Heinrich Quentell—did not produce full-sheet quartos until 1487. Meanwhile, more recent arrivals, presumably more modern in outlook and possibly following apprenticeships elsewhere, had acquired equipment that permitted printing full-sheet quartos: in 1479 Conrad Winters and Johann Guldenschaff, and Bartholomaeus de Unkel in 1482. As in Mainz, we may observe here that for a long time the well-established printers preferred to stay with the tried-and-trusted procedures on their tried-and-trusted equipment. Finally, extending the sampling of printing in Louvain finds that Johannes de Westfalia, who mainly produced books in-folio, printed on full sheet his undated edition in-quarto of Petrus Paulus Vergerius, *De ingenuis moribus*, to which a date 1477–1478 is now assigned.[52] This is slightly earlier than other printers in the Low Countries. Its unusual system of signatures, signing by the sheet, is noted, and perhaps the imposition can be explained by the early connection Johannes de Westfalia must have had with printing in Padua and Venice, and which he is likely to have maintained. The choice of texts in this edition, printed many times in Italy before 1478, certainly supports this idea.

Conclusion

The survey has shown a pattern of somewhat greater complexity than was initially thought. A technical innovation—the invention of the two-pull press—was the condition for the development of new procedures in the printing houses; printers' copy would have to be prepared in order to divide the text up into smaller units to fit those pages which were to be put on the press simultaneously. 'Copy-fitting' became a constant requirement in typesetting. This is different from the large units in which sections of books had often been divided, and which also required calculations in advance.

The full-sheet quartos do indeed serve to indicate that the technical improvement had been introduced. There can be little doubt that the innovation

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52   ISTC iv00131000, GW M49630, ILC 2147, dated 1477–1478 on the basis of paper evidence, formerly dated in HPT as 1476–1477.

started in Rome, and no doubt at all that after spreading to some other towns in Italy it reached some of the centres of printing in Northern Europe at the very end of the 1470s and in the early 1480s. The dissemination is therefore precisely in the opposite direction from the one taken by the introduction of printing by the many German printers who travelled to Italy, but it may have relied on the same connections. The spread of the innovation was rapid, and testifies to the printers' frequent and wide-ranging contacts. By the 1480s most (but not all) printers in the Italian cities printed quartos, and presumably folios, on full sheets and in two pulls as if they had never known otherwise. I have surveyed only a few towns, but this suggests that continuation would usefully show up connections and direct contacts. The testimony in Conat's colophon of 1476 in Mantua illustrates the point.[53] The pattern of dissemination was repeated a few years later in Northern Europe, as shown in the survey in Appendix III below, which simplifies the picture, since it does not take into account all of the variety within towns and within printing houses, but nevertheless indicates the spread of the technical innovation.

The detail and the exceptions, however, are important. Perhaps the most significant result of this study is that the two methods of quarto printing could exist side by side in so many instances. In printing-house practice, the disadvantage in working with the more complex and often unfamiliar imposition of full-sheet quartos had to be weighed against speedier production. When printing folio editions, the two-pull press, printing two pages at a time, offered an obvious advantage over page-by-page printing. Full-sheet folio printing required the casting off of copy, but the pattern of imposition was very simple, requiring, for example, the combination of pages 1–16, 2–15, etc. in a quire of eight leaves. This same pattern conveniently applied to half-sheet quartos.

Preparation of the text for setting, a part of the production process that usually eludes us, was therefore an important consideration in deciding the economy and convenience of formats and methods for setting a particular text—in the case of quartos, in half-sheets or in full sheets. We can see that in a period of transition many printers were in a position to choose between the two, at least for a while. That phase of transition, shifting from south to north, spans in all at least 15 years.

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53   See above, n. 5.

Appendix 1: Survey of Quarto Editions Printed in Rome before 1480

	1468	1469	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Sweynheym & Pannartz	½C	½C					C	½C				
ISTC: 6; BL: 5; elsewhere: 1												
Ulrich Han	½C	½C	½C	½C		½C	½C	½C, C		C		
ISTC: 46; BL: 19; elsewhere: 9												
Joh. de Lignamine						—	—					
ISTC: 17; BL: 9; elsewhere: 1												
Georgius Lauer			½C	½C	½R, R			½C, C	C	C	C	C
ISTC: 21; BL: 9; elsewhere: 3												
Pr. Mercuriales Quaestiones						½C	½C					
ISTC: 23; BL: 6; elsewhere: 1												
Wendelinus de Wila							½C					
ISTC: 4; BL: 1; elsewhere: 1												
or Barth. Guldinbeck, ISTC 14												
Joh. Gensberg							½R, C	C				
ISTC: 28; BL: 19; elsewhere: 2												
Arnoldus de Villa								½C				
ISTC: 1; BL: 1												
Joh. Reinhardi								R	C			
ISTC: 8; BL: 3												
G. Sachsel & Barth. Golsch							½C, C					
ISTC: 5; BL: 2												
Joh. Schurener								½R, C	C	C		
ISTC: 35; BL: 23												
Barth. Guldinbeck								C	C	C	C	C
ISTC: 80; BL: 28												
Wolf Han								½R, C	½C			
ISTC: 7; BL: 6												
In domo Fr. de Cinquinis										C	C	C
ISTC: 10; BL: 8												
Pr. of Flemming										C		
ISTC: 1; BL: 1												

	1468	1469	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Joh. Bulle									C			
ISTC: 24; BL: 8												

The line following the name of a printer indicates the number of quarto editions recorded in 1997 in the ISTC, the number represented in the British Library, and the number examined elsewhere.

Legenda:

C: Chancery paper, full sheets; ½C: Chancery paper, half-sheets.

R: Royal paper, full sheets; ½R: Royal paper, half-sheets.

Appendix II: Survey of Quarto Editions Printed in Five Italian Cities before 1480

Naples	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Sixtus Riessinger	½C									
Arnaldus de Bruxella			½C		C	C	C	C		
Pr. of Silvaticus					½C					
Berth. Rihing					?	?		C		
Pr. of Dante						½C				
Pr. of Philalites						½C				
Mathias Moravus										
(none seen)										
Jodocus Hohenstein							C			
Henr. Alding (with P. Barmentlo)							C	C		
Pr. of Carpanis							C			

Venice	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Joh. & Vind. de Spira	½C	½C	½C							
Nic. Jenson	½C	½C	½C	½C						C
Chr. Valdarfer		½C								
Pr. of Basilius		½C								
Adam de Ambergau			½C							
Fr. Renner de Heilbronn		½C					?		C	

(cont.)

Venice	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Gabriele di Pietro			½C		C	½C, C	½C		R	
Fl. de Argentina			½C							
Chr. Arnoldus				½C			C			
Barth. Cremonensis			½C	½C	½C					
Pr. of Ausonius			½C							
Pr. of Duns Scotus			½C							
Jac. Rubeus						½C	½C			
Filippo di Pietro						C	C		C	½C
Joh. de Colonia & Joh. Manthen				½C		½C	½C, R	C		
E. Ratdolt & R. Maler							½C	½C, C	½C	
Th. de Blavis								C		
Adam de Rotweil									C	

Bologna	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Balthasar Azoguidus		½C	½C	½C		½C, C				
Ugo Rugerius				½C		½C, C	C			
Pr. of Barbatia Johannina						not seen				
Pr. of Suetonius								½C		
Joh. Schriber de Annunciata									½C	½C
Joh. Walbeck										½C
Dominicus de Lapis							½C	C		½C

Florence	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Joh. Petri			½C							
S. Jacopo di Ripoli							½C	½C	½C, C	C
Nic. Laurentii				½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C

Milan	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Pr. of Castaldi		½C								
Ph. de Lavagnia			½C		½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C
Ant. Zarotus			½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C		
Chr. Valdarfer					½C	½C	½C	½C		
Joh. Bonus						?	½C			

Milan	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479
Dominicus de Vespolate						?			½C	
D. Paravisinus							½C			
Arch. Ungardus								½C		
Pr. of Mombritius								½C		
L. Pachel & U. Scinzenzeler									½C	½C, C

Legenda:

C: Chancery, paper, full sheets; ½C: Chancery paper, half-sheets.

R: Royal paper, full sheets; ½R: Royal paper, half-sheets.

Appendix III: The Transition from Half-Sheet to Full-Sheet Printing

	1465	1466	1467	1468	1469	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479	1480
Subiaco	½C															
Rome			½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	C	C	
Naples						½C				½C, C	½C, C	C	C	C	C	
Venice					½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	
Bologna										½C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	½C, C	
Florence									½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C, C	½C, C	
Milan					½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C, C	
Mainz					½C	½C			½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C		C
Eltville					½C			½C				½C				
Strasbourg							½C		½C	½C		½C	½C			
Cologne		½C		½C		½C		½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	C	C
Paris						½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	½C	C	C	C	
Alost/Louvain									½C	½C		C	½C	½C	½C	C
Gouda													½C	½C	½C	C
Westminster												½C	½C	½C		C
Oxford														½C	C	C

The Text in the Printing House: Printer's Copy

Very few archival documents reveal the internal organisation of early printing houses, and mostly they are accounts recording payments for materials and income from the books they produced.[1] Even more scarce are contracts, such as those surviving for the editions of the Nuremberg Chronicle.[2] Any such documents which supported the business aspect of early printing do not inform us how intellectual and commercial concerns as well as technical requirements might have affected transmission of the texts that were reproduced in print. Although the number of manuscripts and printed books which are recognised as having served as exemplars in printing houses in the fifteenth century is very small when compared with the recorded output of incunable printing, investigations of some of these instances have highlighted the value of such documents as unique resources for insight into printing-house practices. It is therefore fortunate that at present as many as 40 of these documents, listed below, are recognised with certainty.[3] Following the marks made by the hands of those who were engaged in producing books allows us direct insight into the procedures of the workshop, and hence into developments of technique which took place before the late fifteenth century, well before methods of bookproduction began to be described in the sixteenth century. Behind the often hastily scribbled annotation, made by people in the middle of a process, we can perceive minds at work, measuring and calculating in order to convert their exemplar, whether a manuscript or a printed book, into a new form. In the later phase of production, printer's copy is what compositors had under their eyes, the exem-

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1 The most extensive document recording the daily practice of an early printing house is the *Diario*, or daybook, of the Dominican monastery of San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence, where a printing press was active from 1476 to 1484. The document is in the National Library in Florence, BNC, Magl. X 143. The text was published with a commentary by Melissa Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli 1476–1484* (Florence, 1999). For a discussion between Neil Harris, Melissa Conway, and the Editor (Nicolas Barker) about this edition, see *The Book Collector*, 50 (2001), pp. 10–50. For accounts documenting the publication of three works in Italian in 1476 supported by the firm of the Strozzi in Florence, see the study on the *Historia fiorentina* and its printer's copy in the present collection, pp. 201–203.

2 For literature, see below, List of printer's copy, pp. 87–89 (from here on referred to as 'List'), nos. 28 and 29.

3 See List, pp. 67–101.

plar from which they created the new text in type. Each exemplar for a book supported its production process over a finite period of time; within that time span, the notes made in copy preparation and the marks made by compositors bring us as close as possible to the continuous mental and manual processes which together make up the genesis of a book.

When viewed in conjunction with the finished book, the markings in printer's copy are witnesses to how the production of a book was planned, and how it grew under the compositors' hands until they handed over the typeset matter to be readied for the press. They may lead the investigator across a range of aspects, from appreciating the mechanical restrictions imposed by the available resources—a limited supply of type and the state of development of the printing press—to the question of how the text was affected by the successive procedures in the printing house. Deliberate interference with the text would often occur through correction and editing before typesetting, variants introduced during typesetting, and possibly further variants resulting from the proofreading of typeset pages. No less significant for tracing textual transmission are the variants introduced by accident during typesetting, either by misreading or as typographical errors. And then, it turns out, there are also textual variants which were introduced when a compositor was confronted with an immediate problem when trying to conform to the limits for his pages set out in advance—for example, shortening or lengthening a text in order to fit the predetermined size of a page. For the full invention of the art of printing books was not only the invention of movable type for multiplying texts in print, but also applying it to full advantage for producing books in the form of codices, that marvellous development of the early centuries of Christianity. A codex consists of sheets folded together, which necessitates a continuous text to be broken up into pages. It took several decades of ingenuity to perfect the methods for efficient production of codices in print. Once satisfactory methods were found, they remained largely established for centuries—albeit with some minor adaptations and regional differences—until the nineteenth century, when book production met its own industrial revolution.

All marked-up printer's copy has features in common. They also all show differences in the practices of workshops, but it may be useful to discuss the common features first. Printer's copy almost always shows more than one phase of the production of a book. Each phase left a layer of marks in the exemplar. In order to understand the successive processes the exemplar documents, it is necessary to establish which marks were made in the different phases of production, usually by different people.

Copy Preparation—Editing of the Text

First of all, we can often observe a critical process, that of an editor or corrector preparing a text, with his standards and methods, of course, being determined by the nature of the text. Occasionally a famous scholar who had edited a learned text is named by the printer, but much more often the text was overseen by an anonymous corrector, and sometimes it was probably the printer himself. Other books were not corrected or edited at all, but in the surviving printer's copy of the fifteenth century only a few texts do not show any signs of correction. The corrector would note his textual amendments, leaving a trace which is, in fact, a first layer of instructions to compositors to incorporate them into the typeset text.

Correction is a form of adaptation to standards set by the corrector, perhaps making the text accessible for expected readers or—always depending on the available sources—bringing the quality of the text to the level the buyer would expect or hope for; in other texts—for example, in vernacular languages—archaic or regional linguistic forms and spelling might be adjusted to fit the usage of a wider and contemporary readership. In many kinds of texts, learned as well as vernacular, particular care was taken to produce a consistent textual structure, such as inserting headings to chapters or creating larger divisions of the text.

At the most ambitious editorial level, the task of the corrector was occasionally facilitated by having a manuscript copied for him with the express purpose of serving as the basis for his editoral annotations. The instances in the fifteenth century where this was the case stretch from the printing house of Sweynheym and Pannartz in the 1470s to the manuscripts, mainly Greek, which Aldus Manutius ordered from scribes in preparation for printing. The earliest, very substantial instance is the first Rome edition of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*.[4] A manuscript of the complete text of 37 books, written in 1460, was first used for editing by Sweynheym and Pannartz's main editor, Giovanni Andrea Bussi; he noted the completion of that phase on 15 December 1469. The entire text was then copied for further editing by Bussi before it was finally handed over to the printers, who marked it up. Printing of the edition was still finished in the same year, 1470. Most of the manuscripts copied for Aldus, mainly by Cretan scribes, survive because they were 'rescued' from the printing house and taken to Basel by Johannes Cuno, a scholar of Greek, who left them to Beatus Rhenanus, who in turn left them to his birthplace, the town of Sélestat (Schlettstadt) in the

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4   See List, no. 7. Only the second half of the manuscript that served as printer's copy survives.

Alsace.[5] They form an impressive body of witnesses to the processes of editing by Aldus's editor Marcus Musurus, and the subsequent production in the printing house in the late 1490s, continuing into the sixteenth century, not least because they were not treated with any particular care. Editor and compositors made large and clear marks, leaving no room for doubt or misinterpretation.[6]

The most famous and spectacular example of manuscripts prepared exclusively for the printing house—in this case, Anton Koberger's in Nuremberg—are the models for the Latin and the German versions of Hartmann Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle, which combine sketched indications of the numerous illustrations with the text fully written out, thus specifying the layout for each page.[7] A less explicit instance is Poggio Bracciolini's *Historia fiorentina*, a pretty manuscript commissioned by Gerolamo Strozzi and taken in 1476 to the printer in Venice as soon as it was written. It was marked by compositors without particular discretion, but after its use in the printing house it remained in the possession of the Strozzi family.[8]

Manuscripts which were expressly prepared for the printing house survived against all the odds. Copies of printed books used for reprinting would be even more expendable, and they are rare indeed. The copy of the first edition of the *Book of St Albans*, used by Wynkyn de Worde in 1496, looks rather battered, and it is full of annotation meant only for internal use, but the printed book used by Giovanni Andrea Bussi working in 1470 for Sweynheym and Pannartz fared better.[9] No fewer than three copies of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible were used in printing houses in Mainz and in Strasbourg, carefully marked up with minute signs by compositors. The sheets used in Mainz by Fust and Schoeffer were later lavishly illuminated and obviously sold by the printers of the new edition, the compositor's marks found at present in two different copies.[10]

If manuscripts expressly made for use in the printing house were treated with some nonchalance, the opposite is true for manuscripts which had to be returned to owners. Some were autographs;[11] others belonged to religious

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5   Martin Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius: Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund.* [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, NF 1, vol. 10] (Paderborn, 1997); Einleitung, p. 5.

6   See List, nos. 36–40.

7   See List, nos. 28 and 29.

8   See List, no. 16.

9   See List, nos. 8 and 34.

10   See List, nos. 1 and 6.

11   See List, nos. 9, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 37, 38.

houses[12] or were the treasured property of a family.[13] Some may perhaps have been considered 'ancient' and for that reason venerable—for example, the fourteenth-century manuscript with some of the *Opuscula* of St Augustin, printed by Dionysius Bertochus in Venice in 1491.[14] For many others, however, the available descriptions do not allow for any such conclusions.

Survival does not always favour those seeking the positive evidence for textual derivation that is offered by marked-up printer's copy. There are instances where textual features between a source and the printed version are close, but where in the absence of printing house marks an intermediate copy has to be hypothesised. An example is Gheraert Leeu's edition of the Latin version of Marco Polo's travels.[15] Similarly, it becomes increasingly probable that William Caxton resorted to this method of creating a copy for use in the printing house when he edited texts in English; he was used to writing out lengthy texts in order to prepare his many translations for the press, and there is no reason to assume that he would have balked at writing out text when editing. This may offer a solution to the many (disputed) questions raised by his edition of Malory's *Morte Darthur*.[16]

Recognising Printer's Copy

Early manuscripts were often treated with greater care than the 'printing-house manuscripts', but because the less precious manuscripts were often clearly marked, it was these which tended first to be recognised first for what they were. Recognition, however, is not the same as understanding; printer's copy was identified long before the function of the various marks made in the

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12   The two manuscripts used in Utrecht by Ketelaer and De Leempt, List, nos. 13 and 14.

13   For example, the manuscript of Hans Tucher's *Reise*, List, no. 22, preserved in a family archive, and the Plimpton manuscript of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, owned by the Willoughby family, List, no. 33.

14   See List, no. 25.

15   Discussed in the essay on pp. 278–303. An even more intricate example is the (missing) link between a manuscript of Athanasius texts once owned by Bessarion and the Latin *editio princeps*, Vicenza, 1482, discussed by Silvia Fiaschi, 'Un codice de Bessarione alla base della princeps di Atanasio nella versione di Ognibene da Lonigo', in Mariarosa Cortesi (ed.), *Editiones principes delle opere dei Padri greci e latini* [Atti del convegno di studi della Società internazionale per lo studio Medioevo latino (SISMEL), Firenze, 2003] (Florence, 2006), pp. 205–230.

16   See pp. 426–429.

printing house was understood, but the marks were taken as irrefutable evidence of direct derivation in stemmatic studies of early editions, especially of the classics. The experience of the scholarly studies (which has continued until recent times) may lead to the formulation of a general rule: the identification of a document (manuscript or printed) as having served as printer's copy can only be based on the presence of compositors' marks in combination with textual features. It cannot be based on textual features alone. When in the absence of marks textual features indicate a close relationship between a source and a printed edition, the possibility of a no longer extant intermediate copy deserves consideration. Conversely, and exceptionally, the presence of marks similar to compositors' marks cannot be taken as decisive evidence if textual features contradict it.[17]

The first time the combination of such arguments was clearly expressed was in what must be one of the first descriptions, if it is not the first description, of compositor's marks, published in 1871 when these marks had been observed in an exemplar for an edition of the comedies of Aristophanes that was printed shortly after the incunable period, in 1516. The exemplar was not a 'printing-house manuscript', but a source praised by the printer as ancient. F.A. von Velsen had been mystified by the printer Bernardus Junta's introduction to the edition printed by the Juntas in Florence of the two comedies 'Lysistrata' and 'Women at the Thesmophoria', which had not been available to Aldus Manutius for his edition of nine comedies in 1498.[18] Junta declared that his edition had been printed from a very old manuscript 'ex urbinate bibliotheca'. It was not until Von Velsen examined in the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna an Aristophanes manuscript dating from the tenth century that he first became intrigued by regularly occurring lines and Arabic figures in pale ink, which turned out to correspond precisely to pages in the Junta edition. In a brief study published in 1871 he produced a careful record of the figures in relation to the pages in the edition of 1516.[19] However, he then remarked, more is required to establish direct derivation, and he proceeded to list variants that resulted from three distinct phases of editing which had all been carried out on the ancient manuscript, and which were all present in the book as printed. The main result

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17   As is, for example, the case with the manuscript Oxford, Magdalen College Ms 213 of John Gower, *Confessio amantis*, see List, section 'Doubtful or rejected', no. 11.

18   See List, no. 39, and F.A. von Velsen, *Über den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und der Thesmophoriazusen des Aristophanes* (Halle, 1871).

19   Compositor's signatures can be seen in the facsimile edition of the Ravenna codex, *Aristophanis Comoediae undecim cum scholiis: Codex Ravennas 137.4.A, phototypice editus*. With an introduction by J. van Leeuwen (Leiden, 1904).

for him was the identification of the manuscript, which belonged to the Vatican at the time it was mentioned as a source by Bernardus Junta but had unexpectedly come to light in Ravenna. He noted that the marks were undoubtedly made for a specific purpose ('… so daß man nicht daran zweifeln konnte, daß sie mit einer ganz bestimmten Absicht gemacht waren'), but he did not follow this observation with the question of what that specific purpose might have been.

It was a long time before Von Velsen's observation of the printing-house marks was followed by studies of other materials. In the twentieth century printer's copy was gradually given attention, even though it did not come up as a subject in the most influential handbook of incunable studies, Konrad Haebler's *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde* (Leipzig, 1925). The *Handbuch* (translated into English in 1935) was the result of Haebler's examination of innumerable copies of incunabula in the course of his wide-ranging studies and in preparation for the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. His experience also drew on the observations noted in the volumes of BMC published thus far at that date.[20] His description of printing-house procedures is therefore a clear example of inductive methodology. When just over half a century later Ferdinand Geldner's *Inkunabelkunde* appeared,[21] he presented a rather shorter discussion of the technique than Haebler's, and without Haebler's many references to actual observations in early printed books. Nevertheless it is based on the author's wide-ranging experience with the large collection in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Both Haebler and Geldner are quite imprecise about the development of the press and of compositorial practice, and it is on these points that the investigation of printer's copy, in so far as it has been carried out to date, is so enlightening.[22]

In this period—after Haebler and before William Bond and Charlton Hinman, publishing in 1948 and 1955, changed for good the understanding of production methods in early printing houses[23]—printer's copy was first identified

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20   See the study 'Two Editors, Three Printers', pp. 229–231.

21   Ferdinand Geldner, *Inkunabelkunde: Eine Einführung in die Welt des frühesten Buchdrucks* [Elemente des Buch-und Bibliothekswesens 5] (Wiesbaden, 1978).

22   R.B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (1st ed., Oxford, 1927), is based on English printing of the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. He does not mention printer's copy and was not aware of setting by formes. Gaskell, *New Introduction*, briefly describes printer's copy and casting off, and notes that setting by formes 'appears to have been a common practice in English and in some continental printing up to the mid seventeenth century' (p. 41).

23   William H. Bond, 'Casting Off Copy by Elizabethan Printers: A Theory', *Papers of the*

for texts produced in England in the incunable period. The slow process of recognising the significance of printer's copy took place parallel to but independent of the development of analytical bibliography, although there the investigation of printing-house practice had become the cornerstone for understanding textual transmission in print. But the insights the new discipline brought seem to have passed by the few students of Middle English literature who were the first to identify printer's copy used in England. As had been the case in the study of classical texts, the focus was on identifying textual derivation and establishing variation when texts appeared in print, but it was not on the process of transmission. In 1932 the young scholar Gavin Bone published a study of two instances of printer's copy used by Wynkyn de Worde.[24] After a careful discussion of the relation between the texts in the manuscripts and print—common error, changes in spelling and morphology, corrections of mistakes ('if we are willing to allow intelligence to the compositors')—Bone described the correlation between De Worde's editions and the marks made by compositors, which consisted of a letter designating the beginning of a quire, followed by a sequence of Arabic figures corresponding to pages within the quires, and he exclaims (p. 294):

> ... compositors were the only class who ever thought of using such a system. If any one not a compositor wished to mark on the manuscript the points where Wynkyn's pages began, he would certainly number them in pages from first to last, or leaves from first to last, or leaves within the signatures (as Wynkyn's edition is numbered)—but pages within the signature is the invention of the printer's devil!

The results of Bone's in many ways seminal study found their way into P. Simpson's *Proofreading*, published in 1935, where they were placed in the context of printing-house practices, but there was no further clarification of the function of the markings or the method of producing the books.[25]

    After another long gap in time, Margery M. Morgan studied in the early 1950s the printer's copy for two texts printed by Richard Pynson early on in

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Bibliographical Society of America, 42 (1948), pp. 281–291. Charlton Hinman, 'Cast-off copy for the First Folio of Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4 (1955), pp. 259–273. id., *The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (2 vols., Oxford, 1963).

24   Gavin Bone, 'Extant Manuscripts Printed from by W. de Worde with Notes on the Owner, Roger Thorney', *The Library*, 4th ser. 12 (1932), pp. 284–306. See List, nos. 31–32.

25   Percy Simpson, *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1935); repr. with an introduction by Harry Carter (London 1970), pp. 57–59.

his career; she reported on them less entertainingly than Gavin Bone but with an equal lack of understanding of how a book was printed in this period.[26] Her premise was that the printer aimed to produce a kind of page-for-page facsimile of the manuscript, evident—she thought—because the line ends were the same in the manuscript as in print, in prose as well as in verse. More recent examination of *Dives and Pauper* showed that this occurred less frequently than she indicated, and can in fact be explained by the method of non-seriatim setting, where compositors were obliged intermittently to end the page at predetermined spots (as will be discussed below).[27]

In the same period Robert W. Mitchner published an extensive study of the relation between Columbia's splendid Plimpton manuscript of John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, and Wynkyn de Worde's edition of c. 1496.[28] It is an admirably detailed work, with a systematic analysis of changes in the text and a careful description of the marks in the manuscript. Equally careful is the description by J. Ruysschaert, published in the same productive early 1950s period, of the autograph of the lectures by Laurentius Traversanus used in Caxton's printing house.[29] He noted in particular the two variant states in the structure of the book as issued by Caxton.

In many of the later studies of printer's copy, attention shifted from the text itself to its production in the printing house. But this was not the case for all of them. In an impressive succession of studies, published from 1961 on, Martin Sicherl used the manuscripts prepared for Aldus Manutius for his editions of the Greek classics as the basis for studying the sources the scribes and editors used. In 1997 he published his final work on the subject, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius*, in which he summed up or elaborated his earlier studies. For him the presence of compositors' marks was the indubitable evidence that a manuscript had been the immediate source for Aldus's edition, but in his introduction to his book he cheerfully stated that he was leaving

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26   Margery M. Morgan, note in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 33 (1950–1951), pp. 194–196, and 'Pynson's manuscript of Dives and Pauper', *The Library*, 5th ser. 8 (1953), pp. 217–228. See List, nos. 27 and 30.

27   See below, pp. 58–61.

28   Robert W. Mitchner, 'Wynkyn de Worde's use of the Plimpton manuscript of *De proprietatibus rerum*', *The Library*, 5th ser. 6 (1951), pp. 7–18. See List, no. 33.

29   J. Ruysschaert, 'Les manuscrits autographes de deux oeuvres de Lorenzo Guglielmo Traversagni imprimées chez Caxton', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 36 (1953–1954), pp. 191–197. See List, no. 19.

the interpretation of the marks to those who were interested in the history of printing rather than the transmission of classical texts.[30]

When more than superficially examined, the instances of marked-up printer's copy for early books have provided invaluable awareness of the constant factors in such marks, as they reflect the processes common to the early printing houses. Equally, even these relatively scarce examples show that textual transmission in early print is prone to increased instability, because in addition to the kind of errors a copyist might commit, there were solutions to technical problems encountered by compositors which affected the text as they set it in type. For this reason alone, following these actions in a document annotated in a printing house is instructive, as I hope the case studies in the present collection of essays will show.

The significance of the scarce instances of early printer's copy goes far beyond bringing about an understanding of the production of the books for which they served as exemplars. Not only do they offer evidence for the practices of a printing house at a certain time, they also open the way to understanding what happened in the thousands of instances where the marked-up printer's copy does not survive, which may have been either a manuscript or a copy of an earlier printed edition. Having followed in detail the course of production of a small number of early printed books enables us to have at least some confirmation of assumptions about how books were printed in the fifteenth century. A further step is to apply the insights gained from analysing printer's copy to the relation between successive editions in print of a particular text, as discussed in several essays in the present collection.[31]

Of the 40 now known instances of printer's copy in the incunabula period, about 30 are studied in some detail. This is a sufficient basis for drawing up a few distinctions, apart from the obvious chronological one which reflects the arbitrariness of survival:

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30   Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius* (see n. 5 above), Einleitung, p. 4:
      'Die Umbruchvermerke, die oft nicht genau mit dem Druck übereinstimmen und nicht
      selten auch geändert sind, lassen wichtige Rückschlüsse auf das typografische Verfahren
      in der Druckerei zu. Darauf braucht aber hier nicht eingegangen zu werden, weil es für
      das philologische Ziel dieser Arbeit ohne Bedeutung ist.'

31   The relation of successive editions is discussed in 'Poggio's *Facetiae* in Print', pp. 168–200;
      'Two Editors, Three Printers', pp. 228–253; 'The *History of Jason*' (the editions in French),
      pp. 347–360; 'Nicholas Love's *Mirror* in Print', pp. 366–394; and 'Wynkyn de Worde and
      The book of St Albans', pp. 395–409.

1462–1470: 8
1471–1480: 13
1481–1490: 3
1491–1500: 16

It makes some sense to make a distinction between Latin and Greek, and the vernacular languages, for compositors usually treated texts in vernacular languages with greater freedom (although this might vary with the nature of the texts).

Latin   25
Greek   4
Vernacular   11, of which
                    Italian   1
                    French   1
                    Dutch   1
                    English   6
                    German   2

The earliest vernacular printer's copy is in Italian, used in 1476, and the six English-language items are all dating from the 1490s. Finally, we may note that 36 are manuscripts, and four printed books.[32] When the focus is on the text and the methods of processing the text in the printing house, one watershed is more significant than any other: the introduction of the two-pull press, which gradually replaced the one-pull press during the 1470s and early 1480s. The methods of setting and printing on the one-pull press have come up in several studies and were summed up with great clarity by G. Lombardi in 1997.[33] I have described setting and printing by formes, which is the consequence of the introduction of the two-pull press.[34] Unfortunately, the period of transition from seriatim setting to setting by formes is poorly represented among the instances of marked-up printer's copy, of which only

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32   For printed books see List, nos. 1, 6, 8, and 34.

33   Giuseppe Lombardi, 'Dal manoscritto alla stampa', in M. Miglio and O. Rossini (eds.), *Gutenberg e Roma, Le origine della stampa nella città dei papi 1467–1477* (Naples, 1997), pp. 29–40.

34   Lotte Hellinga-Querido, *Methode en praktijk bij het zetten van boeken in de vijftiende eeuw* (doctoral thesis, Amsterdam, 1974). I have returned to this theme several times, most recently in the introduction to BMC XI (2007), pp. 20–24, 30–31.

three are known from the 1480s, in what may be assumed to be the period of transition and the early years of this method of production. For the final decade of the fifteenth century there is much evidence in the form of marked-up printer's copy, by which time printing-house routines were firmly established, but printers found new variations.

Printer's Copy and Modern Bibliographical Development

The development of interest in printer's copy can be seen in the context of the rapidly increasing interest in book history in general, which began in the late 1950s. An ever-widening field of study ranged from the history of printing houses, with identification and bibliographical details of the books they printed, to books as material objects, their dissemination through trade, and to readership. In this development there are traditions which can be distinguished by their cultural or even national bias: France excelled in what commonly came to be known as 'l'Histoire du livre', its course determined by the seminal work *L'Apparition du livre* by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, first published in 1958, which placed the history of publishing in a wide historical context. The German-speaking world found a focus in the history of the book trade and in enumerative bibliography, resulting for incunable studies in a number of outstanding catalogues by German scholars, while the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* persisted in continuing its tradition despite times of adversity, making very slow progress all through the later decades of the twentieth century. The great Italian tradition of classical philology found new application in the study of textual transmission in early printing. More recently in Spain the oeuvre of Cervantes led to exemplary and extensively illustrated studies by Francisco Rico of its production in print, but to my knowledge there are as yet no similar studies of earlier Spanish printing.[35] The English-speaking world remained deeply influenced by the discipline of analytical bibliography. The intensification and hence more narrowly focused studies developed by American scholars in the 1950s and 1960s led to radical new insights into printing-house practices of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Notably, the almost simultaneous 'discovery' of printing by formes in this period, made by William Bond and Charlton Hinman,

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35   Francisco Rico, *El texto del "Quijote": Preliminares a una ecdótica del siglo de oro* (Valladolid, 2005). Rico observed (p. 174) that all editions in quarto produced (in Spain) in the seventeenth century were set by formes.

has proved to be an invaluable contribution to understanding the development of printing procedures in the fifteenth century.[36]

It is thus that modern studies of printer's copy of the fifteenth century emanate mainly from the traditions with a focus on text—in Italy, Spain, and the English-speaking world, each arising from different traditions and eventually converging. But a beginning, and certainly a source of inspiration, was a Dutch initiative. Wytze Gs Hellinga's *Copy and Print in the Netherlands*, published in 1962, was much influenced by English analytical bibliography and its recognition of the role of printers and printing technique in textual transmission.[37] It was conceived as an 'atlas' illustrating a wide variety of documents which witnessed the internal working of printing houses in the Low Countries and their external relations with authors and designers. An extensive description was added to each document. Since the work covers about 500 years—from the beginning of printing in the Netherlands to a leaf of the design for the work itself—there are only a few illustrations dating from the fifteenth century. They include two instances of printer's copy—two manuscripts used by the Utrecht printers Nicolaes Ketelaer and Gheraert de Leempt in 1473–1474.[38] Detailed descriptions of the two manuscripts include the marks the compositors made in order to illustrate how printer's copy can be recognised. The textual variants between the illustrated pages of manuscript and print were listed. The section with illustrations was preceded by an introduction by W. Hellinga entitled 'From copy to print' with an overview of printing-house procedures, which included a chapter headed 'Printer's copy'. Generally he assumed that compositors marked copy *after* setting a page with 'make-up signatures' consisting of a letter or symbol combined with a page-number; he observed that in the course of the eighteenth century this kind of marking disappeared, and surmised, referring to Harry Carter, that this could be explained by the practice of proof-reading in galleys. The markings in the two manuscripts used by the Utrecht printers do not in any obvious way lead to the ability to distinguish phases in the marking, and whatever traces the phase of casting-off or even earlier calculations might have left did not come into consideration.

In 1974 I took the investigation of printing-house markings further in my doctoral thesis in which I analyzed the annotations in the manuscript that had served as printer's copy for Jacob Bellaert's edition of Raoul Lefèvre's *L'Histoire*

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36   See n. 23 above.

37   Wytze Gs Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands: An Atlas of Historical Bibliography*. With introductory essays by H. de la Fontaine Verwey and G.W. Ovink (Amsterdam, 1962).

38   List, nos. 13 and 14.

de Jason in a Dutch translation.[39] I distinguished the marks for casting off from those made after the composition of pages, and I concluded that the book was set by formes in an irregular pattern determined by the need to use to best advantage the spaces required for woodcut illustration.

The Italian interest in printer's copy began with another richly illustrated work. Massimo Miglio's study of Giovanni Andrea Bussi's editing of classical texts for Sweynheym and Pannartz, including the prefaces to his editions was published in 1978.[40] Several examples of manuscripts prepared by Bussi for the printers were illustrated, some showing subsequent markings of the printing house. This led in the following years to the further identification of a surprisingly large number of instances of printer's copy used by some of the earliest printers in Italy—no fewer than eight manuscripts and one printed book, amounting to almost a quarter of the total for the fifteenth century that is known today.[41] Two years later, in 1980, Miglio and Carla Frova published a more extensive study of the printer's copy for Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, printed at Subiaco. Although the mechanics of production were not the focus of their study, they noted that copy had been divided between several compositors, and it was clear that the order of typesetting was seriatim—page after page in the order of the text. They fully discussed the annotation in various hands by editors and compositors. A study by Giuseppe Lombardi published in 1988 went much further into detail about the production of a Sweynheym and Pannartz edition—the first edition of Nicolaus Perottus, *Rudimenta grammatices*, printed in 1473.[42] His interpretation of the marks made successively in the printing house is that the autograph manuscript of this fairly short text was divided according to its structure into four sections for concurrent production, although only three compositors could be distinguished. They worked seriatim on their individual sections. Another landmark publication which sharpened the focus on the practices of early printing houses in Rome was the collection of essays titled *Gutenberg e Roma*, which accompanied an exhibition held in Rome in 1997.[43] In his contribution Lombardi extended his study to a more generalised and very lucid description of the practices of the workshop of Sweyn-

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39   See n. 34 above, List, no. 23; and the study in the present collection, pp. 304–365 (334–347).

40   Massimo Miglio and Giovanni Andrea Bussi, *Prefazioni alle edizioni de Sweynheym e Pannartz prototipografi Romani.* (Milan, 1978).

41   List, nos. 2–5, 7–10, and 12.

42   List, no. 12.

43   Miglio and Rossini (eds.), *Gutenberg e Roma.* (Essays to accompany an exhibition, Rome, Museo Barracco, 1997.)

heym and Pannartz.[44] After editing the texts, their standard method was to make careful calculations, then to divide copy between compositors for concurrent production, even for a small book such as that by Perottus; they proceeded with setting seriatim, the quire structure always determining the units of production. Sweynheym and Pannartz operated single-pull presses, printing one folio-page at a time. Lombardi also describes (p. 36) how the introduction of two-pull presses allowed setting by formes, and he poses the question when the improved presses were introduced. Sweynheym and Pannartz, well equipped with one-pull presses, apparently chose to stay with their familiar routine.

As a result of these studies undertaken independently in the Netherlands and Italy it had become clear that it is useful to categorise fifteenth-century printer's copy according to the method by which the book was produced—set seriatim or by formes—since each method can affect the transmission of the text in different ways. In most of the descriptions and discussions of printer's copy that have been published in the last 30 years this question has received attention, and it is often elaborately documented.

Setting Seriatim and the Transition to Setting by Formes

As discussed in the essay on early presses,[45] the transition to two-pull presses took place gradually in Italy from the early 1470s, as printers decided to modernise their shops by installing new presses, or new printing houses set out with the latest in equipment. Well-established printers often did not see the need to change their routines and update their equipment. Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome continued in the 1470s with the method of setting and printing seriatim, while in the same city Georg Lauer had introduced printing on a two-pull press by 1472. In Florence the printer at (and the nuns of) Apud S. Jacobum de Ripoli printed in 1477 and until 1478 on a one-pull press; in 1485 the Florentine printer Nicolaus Laurentii printed Leon Baptista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* by formes on a two-pull press, as was established by Silvia Fiaschi in a beautifully illustrated article.[46] Peter Schoeffer in Mainz continued on his old-fashioned but presumably very solid one-pull presses well after other printers were using two-pull presses.

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44   Lombardi, 'Dal manoscritto alla stampa', pp. 29–40.

45   See in the present collection pp. 25–36.

46   Silvia Fiaschi, 'Una copia di tipografia finora sconosciuta: Il Laurenziano Plut. 89 sup. 113 e l'Editio princeps de *De re aedificatoria*', *Rinascimento*, 41 (2001), pp. 267–284, with four plates. See List, no. 24.

It also appears to be the case that in the early days printing houses tended to have a larger number of single-pull presses, worked simultaneously, than they did later, when they had the more sophisticated two-pull presses, which offered obvious technological advantages. Having travelled steadily northward from Naples and Rome, the two-pull press eventually became standard equipment in most of the printing houses north of the Alps. As the random chance of survival has it, all of the printer's copy known at present that was used before the 1480s—much of it from the greatest Italian printing houses—presents evidence that it was used for books printed on one-pull presses.

The distinction between setting type for printing on a one-pull press versus a two-pull press is significant, for it affects the transmission of the text in different ways. For printing on a one-pull press, type was usually set 'seriatim'—page after page in the sequential order of the text. With this process copy was often divided between compositors for concurrent production. This meant that at some point large sections of the book had to be fitted together, sometimes with difficulty, and with ensuing consequences for the presentation of the text—for example, extreme abbreviation.

There was occasionally a departure from this system when, even if printing one page at a time, a printer sought to complete sheets, and apparently combined pages with their conjugates by setting them non-seriatim. The Oxford *Rufinus*, which shows a pattern of copy-fitting discussed elsewhere in this collection, is an example of this process.[47]

The more elaborate two-pull press is the earliest form of the press known from illustrations. This press had a carriage that could be moved twice below the platen, which allowed printers to print one side of a whole sheet in a single operation, by putting formes on the press which combined two pages in-folio format, four in a quarto, etc. For compositors this meant that their foremost task was to prepare pages to be combined in formes, for example in a quire of eight leaves in folio format combining page 1 with page 16. Supplies of type were too small to keep at least 16 pages in type (in practice, more). Therefore, they could no longer set seriatim, but had to work to the requirements of the press. This meant that pages had to be fitted together in each quire, working from the outer forme (e.g. 1–16) inwards, or from the middle of the quire outwards, which became common in English printing. Casting off (or counting off) and marking the future pages remained an important part of the preparation of copy for printing, but it now had another function: not only—as in the early days—was it used to estimate the total number of pages to be divided up

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47   See pp. 218–227 and List, no. 21.

into quires (and thereby the future conjugates), and often also to calculate the division of copy between compositors for individual stints, but it also was used to indicate the beginning of pages when text would *not* be set in consecutive order. When seriatim setting was the prevalent method, compositors could for long stretches happily ignore the marks indicating the transition of pages, as long as they managed to end on the place in the exemplar marked as the end of their preordained stint. In non-seriatim setting, the marks frequently indicated the beginning of a page which was already typeset and printed, although it occurred later in the text. The marks looked the same, but their new function compelled the compositors to follow most of the markings precisely. In later centuries, when a larger supply of type generally allowed the setting of whole quires at a time, seriatim, very similar marks had yet another different function, helping guide the correct imposition of formes and helping correctors in the proofreading phase.

For details of recent publications discussing printer's copy that was used for seriatim setting and printing I refer to the List which follows; in particular, for printer's copy that was set seriatim I refer to Paul Needham's analysis of the use by Heinrich Eggestein of a copy of the 42-line Bible (no. 6), and Mayumi Ikeda's recent find of leaves of Gutenberg's Bible that had been used by Fust and Schoeffer (no. 1). On the basis of the printer's copy of Werner Rolewinck's *Paradisus conscientiae*, used in Cologne by Arnold ther Hoernen in 1475 (no. 15), Meg Ford concluded that it was set seriatim. The practices of the early Cologne printers pose many questions, as yet unanswered, and it is valuable to have direct insight into the production by Ther Hoernen of at least one book, albeit an edition in-folio, which is uncommon in this period in Cologne. The edition in-quarto of Tyrannius Rufinus's *Expositio*, printed in 1478 in Oxford by the eponymous printer who came from Cologne (List, no. 21), suggests that the Cologne printers may have experimented at an early date with innovations in printing house practice.

Such evidence as there is suggests that setting by formes can be assumed to have been common (although not universal) from the early 1480s on, even if very affluent printing houses might have been able to afford supplies of type large enough to allow keeping at least half a quire of a folio edition in type. There is not much recent literature about instances of marked-up printer's copy that was used for setting by formes. To my study of the Dutch manuscript of Raoul Lefèvre's *Historie van Jason* and the three related editions, I added a study of English printing, the reprint of *The book of hawking* by Wynkyn de Worde in 1496 in Westminster.[48] In Silvia Fiaschi's investigation, published in 2001, of

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48   List, nos. 23 and 34; pp. 334–347 and 395–409.

the manuscript used for Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, printed in Florence by Nicolaus Laurentii Alemannus in 1485,[49] she concluded that this book was undoubtedly set by formes. Extending the investigation of the order of typesetting by including the reprinting of texts can multiply the number of instances where we can establish setting by formes, for example in the study of Jacob Bellaert's reprinting of the first editions in French of the texts of Raoul Lefèvre.[50] But there are notable exceptions.

The manuscript layouts for the two editions of Hartmann Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle, printed in 1493, are, of course, the most spectacular instances of printer's copy of the fifteenth century, and are among the most interesting of all time.[51] Extensive studies have highlighted the exceptional cooperation of author and illustrators, backed by financiers and the highly efficient printing house of Anton Koberger. Curiously, the one aspect that eludes investigation is the order of typesetting. The fact that the printer's copy provided the layout for each page, from which the compositors did not deviate, does not lend itself to conclusions about this detail of the production. Any marking by compositors was superfluous, except for its index, a section of text without illustrations for which the conventional compositors' marks were indeed used. Presumably the Anton Koberger printing house was well provided with presses capable of printing a large book two pages at a time, and an ample supply of type may have allowed his compositors to keep a whole quire in type after it had been set seriatim. But this exceptional book cannot provide the evidence for such a procedure.

The Cologne Chronicle, printed in 1499 by Johann Koelhoff the Younger, poses a similar problem.[52] Severin Corsten argued that in 1499 Johann Koelhoff's method for producing the Cologne Chronicle was to print as soon as the middle of a quire was reached when setting the text seriatim. Typesetting would therefore be from the outer forme inwards, whereas printing would be from the middle outwards.[53] His evidence, based on the repeated use of woodcuts and Lombard initials, is not entirely convincing, as it might also serve to show that the text was set by formes, working from the outer sheet inwards. It remains, however, curious that the book was consistently quired in sixes instead of eights, which were more commonly used at that time; the smaller

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49   List, no. 24. See above n. 46.

50   See pp. 347–361.

51   List, nos. 28 and 29.

52   ISTC ic00476000, GW 6688.

53   Severin Corsten, in the text accompanying the facsimile edition of *Die Kölnische Chronik von 1499* (Hamburg, 1982).

number of pages to be combined within a quire might in itself suggest seri-
atim setting, where other evidence is inconclusive. The investigation of the
Cologne Chronicle is further complicated by its numerous illustrations closely
integrated with the text. As is demonstrably the case with the printing of Raoul
Lefèvre's illustrated books in Haarlem, replacing text with woodcuts had an
impact on the size of the compositor's stints, and it may have influenced the
order in which he worked. Or it might even be possible that the system of the
two versions of the Nuremberg Chronicle was followed, and that the book was
set from layouts for each individual page.

Subsequently, Corsten discussed another folio edition which was printed
in Cologne 20 years earlier: the in-folio edition (in three distinct issues) of
Astesanus de Ast, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, printed in 1479 by Heinrich
Quentell, apparently printed a page at a time in each of the three versions.[54]
Corsten pointed out that taken together, the two examples demonstrate the
risks of generalising.

For the final decade of the fifteenth century, a cluster of manuscripts used
in a single printing house may be comparable to those surviving from Sweyn-
heym and Pannartz that were used in the 1470s. The haul of six manuscripts of
classical Greek texts used before 1501 in the printing house of Aldus Manutius
owes its survival to a single act of rescue (or was it theft?) by the scholar Joannes
Cuno, who had worked for Aldus.[55] The number of manuscripts recognised as
used by Aldus is even larger for books printed by him and his successors in the
sixteenth century, thus showing with particular clarity the arbitrariness of the
bibliographical convention to observe a dividing line between 1500 and 1501.[56]
In the present study I have, however, decided to stay with this division,[57] not
because I find any grounds for it in the development of book production, but

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54   ISTC ia01166000–8000, GW 2755, 02755a, 2756. Severin Corsten, 'Das Setzen beim Druck in
      Formen', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1984*, pp. 128–132.

55   List, nos. 36–40.

56   Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben*, see n. 5 above.

57   Thus, I regretfully pass over several studies which concentrate on the early sixteenth
      century, notably Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'Fabriquer un livre au XVIe siècle', in: *Histoire de
      l'édition française*, vol. I: *Le livre conquérant* (Paris, 1984), pp. 282–289; Pierre Petitmengin,
      'Comment on imprimait à Bâle au début du seizième siècle, à propos du Tertullien de
      Beatus Rhenanus (1521)', in *Les amis de la bibliothèque de Sélestat, annuaire* (Sélestat,
      1980), pp. 93–106. Gustavo Bertoli, 'I segni del compositore in alcune copie di tipografia di
      edizioni fiorentine del XVI secolo: Un po' di casistica', *La Bibliofilia*, 91 (1989), pp. 307–324,
      with an excellent overview of literature on earlier printer's copy. Carol M. Meale, 'Wynkyn
      de Worde's setting copy for *Ipomydon*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 35 (1982), pp. 156–171, with
      a note including a list of studies of earlier printer's copy and of the sixteenth century.

because I think that the division which is significant for the transmission of texts took place earlier, with the introduction of two-pull presses, the consequence of which was non-seriatim setting and printing. As set out elsewhere in this volume, their introduction did not take place along clear chronological or geographical lines, but was a gradual transition which largely took place in the 1470s and perhaps the early 1480s.[58] More than before, the new, sophisticated equipment required forethought, preparation, and calculation by the Master Printer, and eventually the skills of compositors in fitting text (or text and illustration) into predetermined spaces. Texts as presented in a manuscript or printed exemplar had to be deconstructed before the parts were fit together again as a coherently functioning entity—a book. In the more complicated procedure the text in the exemplar became more vulnerable to adjustments and adaptations which were quite independent from editorial concerns. There were many factors influencing the degrees to which this took place: the nature of the text, the ambitions of the printer, the control of practices in the workshop. There is therefore a great deal of diversity in the rigour with which textual accuracy was weighed against restrictions imposed by technique—too much to allow for easy generalisations.

Above all, we should always be aware that printers found their own methods of using technical developments to best advantage for their individual purposes. For example, the flourishing, large-scale printing house of Aldus Manutius printed quarto leaves in half-sheets when cleverly producing inserts with a Latin translation of the edition in Greek of Hero and Leander.[59] In a thoughtful comment on the publications that had appeared in the footsteps of Bond and Hinman on printing by formes in Elizabethan and Jacobean printing houses in England, Thomas Tanselle pointed out in 1981 how scant the evidence for this mode of production still was at that time.[60] Evidence has grown since then, and it confirms that the practice was widespread, but even so it is still unwise to generalise and assume that this was invariably how books were produced in at least the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As the press continued to be improved during this period, printing house practices adapted. In Tanselle's words, '… generalising from inductive evidence will remain an uncertain matter, but the cautious gathering of data must continue'—and will doubtless continue to show diversity in printing house practices. The List of printer's copy used in the fifteenth century that follows this essay,

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58   See chapter 1, 'Text and Press in the First Decades of Printing', pp. 25–36.

59   See List, no. 38.

60   G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Analytical Bibliography and Renaissance Printing History', *Printing History, The Journal of the American Printing History Association*, 3 (5) (1981), pp. 24–33.

and the studies devoted to individual instances, may reveal some of the diversity in the early years of printing.

Appendix 1: The Successive Processes in the Printing House

To avoid duplication in the following List of printer's copy it may be useful to summarise the results of the modern interpretation of marks made in printing houses, and the processes as they are now understood to have taken place.

Preparing the Structure of the Printed Book

After editing, the next phase was planning the material form the future book was to have. The person in charge of the printing house (let's call him the Master Printer) would now decide its format (in-folio, in-quarto, etc.) and would estimate its overall size—a calculation based on simple counting. He would know beforehand the fount or founts of type to be used, as well as the ratio of his typographical material against the script or type of the exemplar. The usual procedure was that the Master Printer made a calculation on the exemplar and marked a first 'casting off', knowing that (within reason) adjustments could be made. On several instances of printer's copy it is possible to follow this action, when the Master left traces of the counting of lines, usually two or three at a time. A small mark, or a drypoint stroke, would indicate where he estimated that pages should end/the following pages should begin. Whether pages were to be printed in columns or in single long lines made no material difference to this calculation. A column would count as half a page, and the end of the first column was often not marked. Unfortunately, there is to date no known printer's copy of texts surrounded by a commentary, which must have required a much more complicated feat of casting off and typesetting.[61]

Having arrived at an estimate of the total number of pages, the Master Printer could now determine the structure of the quires and mark the beginnings of quires and of pages within the quires in the exemplar; it was crucial that this be done in advance, for printing a codex inevitably requires the correct combination of pages on a sheet. During this phase some Masters indicated the quire and the numbers of the pages in the quire, but numbers might also be placed by compositors in the next phase, during the typesetting, for a

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61 The printer's copy for Aristophanes's 'Plutus', the text of the comedy surrounded by scholia, does not show how the printer calculated the relation between text and commentary. See List, no. 39.

compositor always had to be aware of—and often noted for himself or for others—which page in the quire he was setting. Having thus produced an overall plan for the book, the Master might divide the exemplar up if it was large, and he might allocate sections to different compositors for concurrent production, provided his was an organisation with more than one press and therefore with at least two teams of compositors and press crews.

Marks Made During Typesetting

Once typesetting was under way, the exemplar was used by compositors to record their progress, which they did by marking it throughout the text; marks made in this phase might well deviate from the calculations of the Master. If a compositor ended a page of typesetting within a line of the exemplar, he usually indicated the actual page-end in the text, often with a small vertical stroke, or sometimes by circling the final words of the actual page; the vertical lines or other marks within lines are quite unambiguous traces left by the compositors when progressing through the text. Other marks in the margin or horizontal strokes between lines, made when the page ended at the end of a line, also indicate the transition from one page to the next. Such marks are messages ensuring the seamless continuity of the text, as a compositor might return to his job after an interval of time had passed, especially when he was not working in textual order, or if he was to hand it over to a colleague. Once the typesetting of a page was finished, it would go into circulation for proofing and imposition (that is, combination with other pages in a forme); finally, it was sent to the pressmen and would not be available to the compositor unless he was required by the proofreader to make corrections.

The marks made by the compositors are the final layer of printing house marking in the exemplar. Some of the manuscripts used in printing houses were treated respectfully, and the markings are correspondingly discreet. Others clearly proclaim how they had been used, sometimes with inky fingerprints or offsets to lend a touch of realism to the traces of their antecedents in the printing house.[62] Any further marking in the printing house that might affect layout or text would be made on proofs.

Setting and Printing by Formes

The principle of setting by formes is fairly simple, and undoubtedly many books were set with this method in a regular manner, either working from the outer

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62   Occasionally, markings in a manuscript cannot unambiguously be interpreted as originating in the printing house: they may, for example, have been made by a scholar collating the text with another source. In such cases textual comparison may yield a solution.

formes inwards or from the inner formes outwards. Although the method was probably very common until well into the seventeenth century, it appears to have been forgotten completely until it was gradually uncovered, mainly from the mid-1950s. But long before then it was understood by Henry Bradshaw, who explained in one of his short bibliographical essays the combination of pages on a fragment of printer's waste: they were pages mis-imposed when a quarto was set by formes.[63] He also assumed that the work had been carried out by two compositors, (needlessly) complicating the issue, which then had to await larger-scale investigations, especially by Charlton Hinman, before it made an impact on analytical bibliography.[64]

Sometimes irregularities, such as irregular numbers of lines per page within a quire, in the resulting books can reveal the procedure. Hinman and others who pioneered the analysis of setting by formes in the early seventeenth century, worked with recurring type damage, but despite the sometimes high quality of type in the fifteenth century, this method is not reliable for early printing types.

When attempting to analyse the order in which a book was set, the point of departure is therefore a schematic presentation of how a compositor might progress. In the first place the overwhelming evidence is that the quire was invariably the unit of production. When working for an edition in-folio from outer formes to inner formes in a quire of eight leaves—in the fifteenth century a very common structure—a compositor would set page 16 after page 1, page 15 after page 2, or, alternatively, pages 1 and 2, 15 and 16; either way, he would complete the first outer sheet first. This can well be established when an independent line of evidence is available in the form of marked-up printer's copy, because it will often show a pattern of copy-fitting at page-ends which allows us to trace the compositor's progress through the text. This can be recorded in what is, in theory at least, a very regular pattern. Assuming that the compositor worked a quire of eight leaves in folio format, beginning with the first outer forme, the record would look either as it does in the left side of the table below, or as it does on the right-hand side, a variant, when completing sheet by sheet, setting four pages at a time:

63   Henry Bradshaw, *Notice of a Fragment of* The Fifteen Oes *and Other Prayers, Printed at Westminster by W. Caxton about 1490–1491, Preserved in the Library of the Baptist College, Bristol* [Memoranda no. 5] (London, 1877). Reprinted in his *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, 1889), pp. 206–236.

64   See n. 23 above.

Legenda:

≠: there was no need for the compositor to end the page precisely as cast off, for the following page had not yet been set in type.

=: the compositor has to end the page as cast off.

Leaf	Page			Page	Leaf	Page			Page
1^a	1	≠	≠?	16	8^b	1	≠	≠?	16
1^b	2	≠	=	15	8^a	2	≠	≠	15
2^a	3	≠	=	14	7^b	3	≠	=	14
2^b	4	≠	=	13	7^a	4	≠	≠	13
3^a	5	≠	=	12	6^b	5	≠	=	12
3^b	6	≠	=	11	6^a	6	≠	≠	11
4^a	7	≠	=	10	5^b	7	≠	=	10
4^b	8	≠	=	9	5^a	8	≠	≠	9

In practice they usually did not stray very far from the markings in the exemplar. In due course compositors might see some advantage in working from the inner sheet outwards when setting two pages at a time and beginning with the middle inner forme, although the spatial limits of the first half of the quire were defined, either by the end of the previous quire or by the beginning of the text. When setting four pages at a time there was no advantage to either method.

Leaf	Page			Page	Leaf
1^a	1^*	=	≠?	16	8^b
1^b	2	=	≠	15	8^a
2^a	3	=	≠	14	7^b
2^b	4	=	≠	13	7^a
3^a	5	=	≠	12	6^b
3^b	6	=	≠	11	6^a
4^a	7	=	≠	10	5^b
4^b	8	≠	≠	9	5^a

* The beginning of the first page had to be fitted, either to the end of the previous quire or the beginning of the text.

It goes without saying that this presentation is highly schematic. In practice, the structure of the text may have suggested deviations from the scheme; for example, pages with blank spaces at the end of a chapter might have required very little typesetting, or similarly, woodcut illustration indicated convenient combination of pages in a forme. Ample evidence for this is discussed in chapter 12 on Jacob Bellaert's printing of four illustrated versions of the texts by Raoul Lefèvre.

Appendix II: Some Examples of Compositors' Marks

All compositors' marks have in common that they relate to the structure of the book for which the marked-up document (manuscript or print) was the printer's copy. While their appearance varies with the habits of the individuals who made the marks, they all served the purpose of ensuring continuity of text in the printed version. Before copy was handed to compositors, the future pages of the printed book were often counted out and marked, the process known as 'casting off'; subsequently compositors indicated the point in the text where they had actually finished the typesetting of a page (see for example Fig. 2.1A, below). There is no sign of a systematic development in methods of marking; similar marks are found during the entire period of hand-press book production. Marks scratched by compositors in dry-point—as they ofen did—remain visible in the printer's copy but are difficult to reproduce photographically. The following examples are selected because they lend themselves to reproduction.
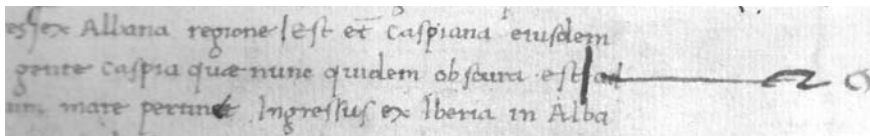

FIG. 2.1A   *Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, c. 1469*

FIG. 2.1B   *Rome, Sweynheym & Pannartz, 1473*

Fig. 2.1A–B. Printer's copy for Strabo, *Geographia*. Rome, Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Panartz, c. 1469. ISTC is00793000. Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, Ms E 47. Illustrations of details taken from Massimo Miglio (ed.), *Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipografi Romani* (Milan, Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1978), Tav. XV. With the publisher's permission. One of the compositors in Rome who set the text for Sweynheym and Pannartz marked with a strong line and with Arabic numerals the beginning of the final page of the quire [p]¹⁰ in the *editio princeps* (fig. 2.1A). The section of the printed book reproduced in Miglio's publication is not of the *princeps*, for variants in typesetting show that this can be identified as the end of fol. [p]8ᵃ of the edition by the same printers completed in 1473. Since this is a page-for-page reprint the pages end at the same points in the text as in the *princeps*. See also below 'List of printer's copy' no. 5.
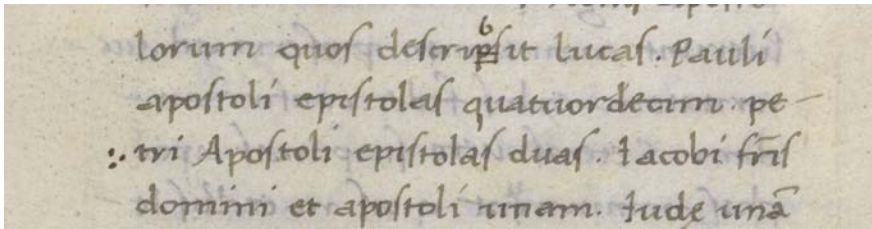

FIG. 2.2   *Oxford, Printer of Rufinus*

Fig. 2.2. Printer's copy for Tyrannius Rufinus, *Explanatio in symbolum apostolorum*. Oxford, [Printer of Rufinus], 17 December '1468' [1478]. ISTC ir00352000. London BL, Sloane MS 1579, fol. 39ʳ.

Other compositors were much more discreet. The compositor of the first book printed in Oxford delicately marked the manuscript with small patterns of three dots, while taking astonishing liberties with the text. See also 'List of printer's copy' no. 21, and chapter 9, pp. 221–227.
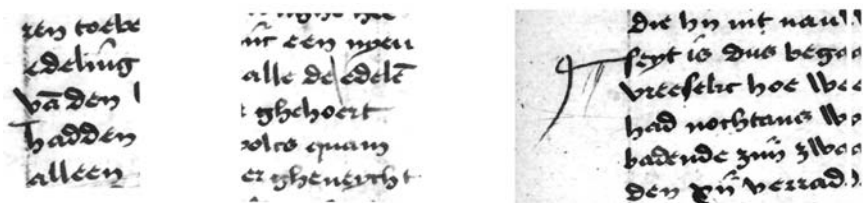
FIGS. 2.3A–C *Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert*
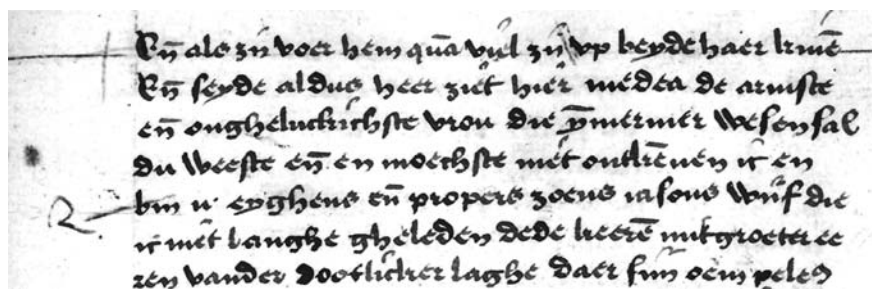
FIGS. 2.3D–E *Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert*

Fig. 2.3A–E. Printer's copy for Raoul Lefèvre, *Historie van Jason*, Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert, [1485, before 5 May. ISTC il00111000. BL, Add. Ms 10290 (I), fol. 13ᵛ, 150ʳ. *Historie van Jason*, Washington DC, Library of Congress, Rosenwald EP 52, fol. L1ᵇ (detail, cf. p. 343 for reproduction of full page).

Curly marks and large arabic figures, (Figs. 2.3C–D) are found in the final quires of Jacob Bellaert's edition of the Dutch *Historie van Jason*, made successively for casting off and marking the actual page-ends. The compositor who set most of the book marked the manuscript with unobtrusive little dashes (Figs. 2.3A–B). See also 'List of printer's copy' no. 23, and chapter 12, pp. 334–344.
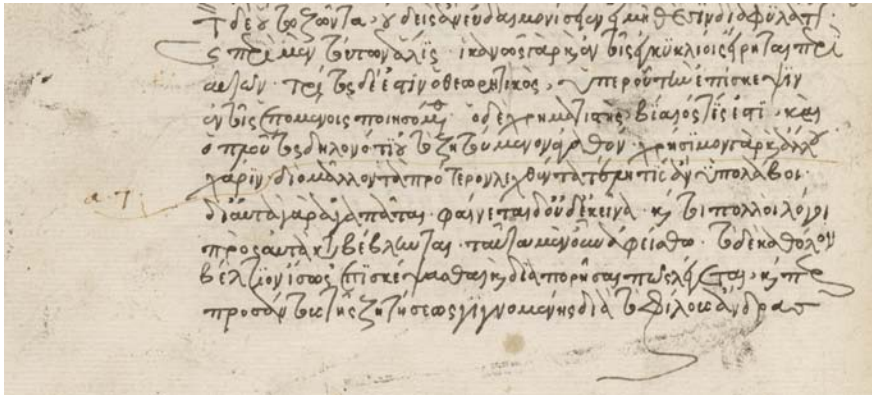
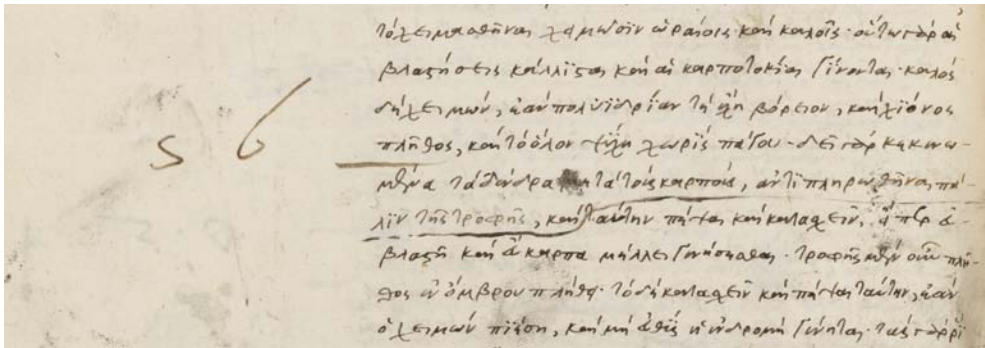FIG. 2.4A   *Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1498*

FIG. 2.4B   *Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1497*

Fig. 2.4A–C. Printer's copy for sections of Aristoteles, *Opera* in Greek, in 5 parts. Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495–1498. ISTC ia00959000. Houghton Library, Harvard University, fMS Gr 17, fol. 39ᵛ, 78ᵛ. Munich, BSB- Ink A-698, fol. ſſſσσσ3ª.

The Greek manuscripts used by Aldus Manutius for his multi-volume edition of Aristotelian texts were probably commissioned with the express purpose of use in the printing house. Yet the compositor who marked the *Ethica ad Nicomachum*, included in vol. 5 (1498) confined himself to very small marginal marks (Fig. 2.4A). Shown is the marginal 'a7', marking the transition to the recto page signed αααα 4, followed by an almost invisible line marking the actual end of the page. Not so his colleague who worked on Theophrastus, *De causis plantarum*, which is included in vol. 4, completed on 1 June 1497. His marks are large, and on Fig. 2.4B we can see that a firm stroke and 's6' in the margin marked the initial casting-off, and a longer line indicates where the verso of the
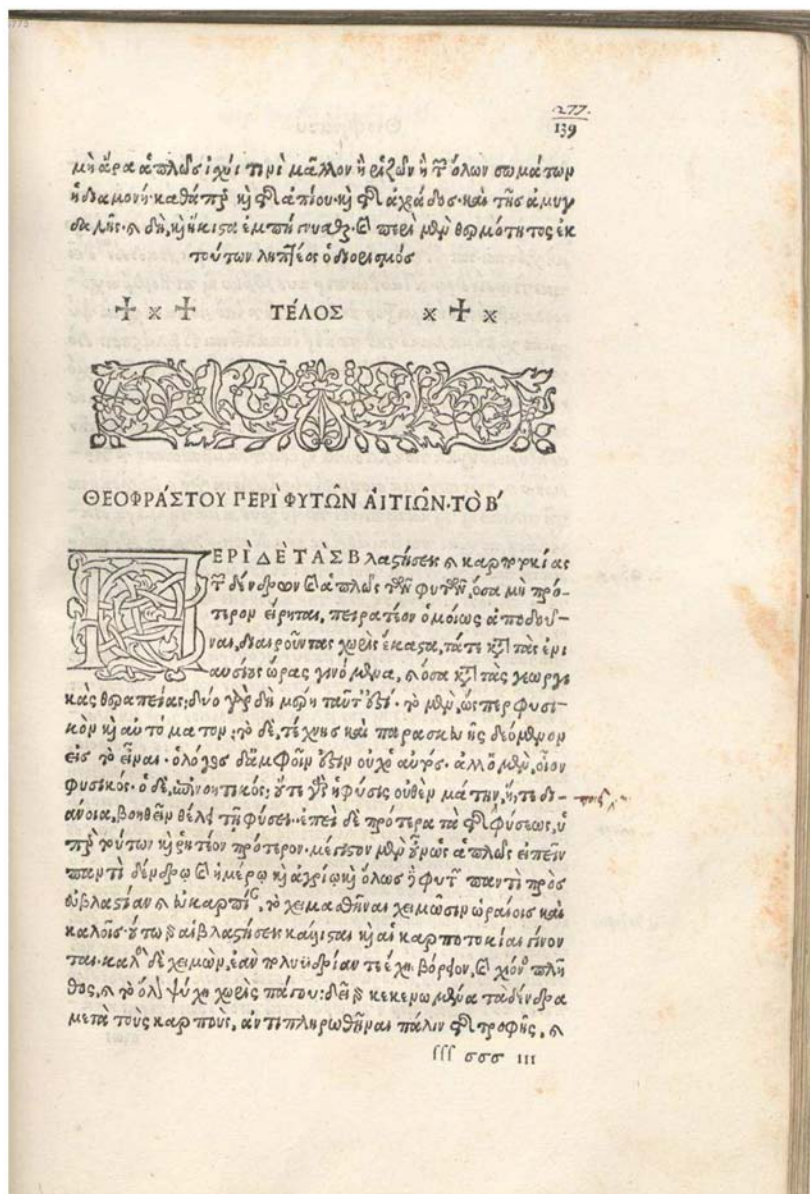
ΤΕΛΟΣ

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΤΩΝ ΑΙΤΙΩΝ·ΤΟ Β΄

FIG. 2.4C   *Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1497*

page signed 'ʃʃʃσσσ iij' actually began (Fig. 2.4C). Many pages are heavily stained with printer's ink: this manuscript was not intended to survive for centuries. See also 'List of printer's copy' no. 36.

le ne allui ne aflut letetre o imbasciadori e dauere uedendo pui
cose condursi dallui conarre tinpanno che colarme: epui arradi
mento che alla stopteta perche fendo cosa naturale inliu tuno
exercitio piacetuole ingannare ogni suomo non riguardando Le

FIG. 2.5A   *Venice, Jacques le Rouge*

pio creati per senato loro, prouocati conisarre ouerre. si da
fiesolani inuidiosa della nuoua cita ssidaplialm uicini de
gnamente econgrande animo se ebeni loro difesi. sottoposti
Il .... fe dara Carla ....

FIG. 2.5B   *Venice, Jacques le Rouge*

Fig. 2.5A–B. Printer's copy for Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia fiorentina*, translated from the Latin into Italian by Jacopo Poggio. Venice, Jacques le Rouge [Jacobus Rubeus], 8 March 1476. ISTC ip00873000. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, MS 321, fol. 4^r, 36^r.

When work on a book was divided between several compositors, their marks may reveal their individual habits. Poggio's *Historia fiorentina* was set by three different compositors who each had their own system for casting-off. Compositor B (fig. 2.5A) marked the casting-off with a small hook at the beginning of lines and an Arabic figure in the margin, in this case '7'. Here he marked the actual page-end with a fine stroke in the middle of the line. The mark in the right-hand margin is not a regular habit of his, and may not be related to the typesetting. One of his colleagues, less respectful, marked the transition of pages with strong lines in the text and large curly figures in the margins (fig. 2.5B). See also 'List of printer's copy' no. 16 and chapter 7, pp. 206–212, Figs. 7.1, 7.3.

List of Printer's Copy Used in the Fifteenth Century

Secondary literature most frequently quoted in this list:

Ford (1999): Margaret Lane Ford, 'A Provisional Census of Recorded Fifteenth-Century Printer's Copy, With Selected Literature', Appendix to her 'Author's Autograph and Printer's Copy: Werner Rolewinck's Paradisus conscientiae', in Martin Davies (ed.), *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga* (London, 1999), pp. 109–128.

Frova-Miglio (1980): Carla Frova and Massimo Miglio, 'Dal MS. Sublacense XLII all' *editio princeps* del "De civitate Dei" di Sant'Agostino (Hain 2046)', in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Vatican City, 1980), pp. 245–273.

Gutenberg e Roma: Massimo Miglio and Orietta Rossini (eds.), *Gutenberg e Roma: Le origine della stampa nella città dei papi 1476–1477* (Naples, 1997). [Essays to accompany an exhibition, Rome Museo Barracco, 1997.]

Lombardi (1997): Giuseppe Lombardi, 'Dal manoscritto alla stampa', in *Gutenberg e Roma*, pp. 29–40.

Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben* (1997): Martin Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius: Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, Kultureller Hintergrund* [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, NF 1, vol. 10] (Paderborn, 1997).

Wolfenbüttel Catalogue (1978): [D. Harflinger, M. Sicherl], *Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen*. [Exhibition catalogue, Herzog August Bibliothek] (Wolfenbüttel, 1978).

1. Printer's copy for: *Biblia latina*. Mainz, Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 14 August 1462, fol.

ISTC ib00529000, GW 4204.

Exemplar: Quires of the 42-line Bible, ISTC ib00526000, GW 4201, Burgos, Biblioteca Pública, Inc. 66, and in the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, New York (PML 12). Described with three illustrations of details by Mayumi Ikeda, 'Two Gutenberg Bibles Used as Compositor's Exemplars', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 106 (2012), pp. 357–372.

The earliest printer's copy known to date was very recently brought to light by Dr Ikeda. She noticed that very small marks in the quires of two copies of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible coincided with page-ends in the Latin Bible printed in 1462 by Fust and Schoeffer, and she concluded that these were marks made by compositors. This is a clear indication that at least eight as yet unbound

quires of the 42-line Bible were used in Fust and Schoeffer's workshop. A complete copy of the 42-line Bible consists of 65 quires—leaving at least 59 quires of printer's copy unaccounted for (since two of the extant quires are duplicates). The now recognised quires are present in the copies in the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, New York, PML 12, and in Burgos, Biblioteca Pública, both copies illuminated by the Fust Master.

Ikeda illustrates several of the marks; they are faint strokes in the line of type, marked with an equally faint 'hash' mark (or double cross) in the margin. They occur in vol. I, quires 30, 31, 32, and 33, and vol. II, quires 18 and 19, in the Morgan copy, and in vol. I, quires 5 (a single mark) and 31, and vol. II, quire 19, in the Burgos copy, listed by the author in a table. Two quires—vol. I, quire 31, and vol. II, quire 19—are duplicates in that they are marked in both copies.

There is no sign of casting off before typesetting. Curiously, and puzzlingly, in three places a compositor marked the same spot in both copies, all corresponding to a transition of the page in the edition of 1462. Ikeda speculates whether this may be interpreted as two compositors working together on the same section of text. Three similar marks in the Morgan copy do not correspond to actual page breaks. Ikeda suggests that at these points the compositor's work was interrupted, the mark indicating where work should be resumed. There is one small textual correction, apparently made with the same light ink, separating two words. The marks in themselves do not offer evidence, but in all probability the Bible of 1462 was set seriatim without previous casting off, and was printed a page at a time. Ample evidence has previously shown that copy for substantial sections of the book was divided between compositors for simultaneous production.

A curious fact, not remarked upon by Ikeda, is that whereas Fust and Schoeffer prepared a new edition, which was destined to be extensively decorated and illuminated, the quires used as printer's copy were also treated with great caution and were lavishly illuminated, presumably after being used in the printer's shop. The sheets that had served as exemplar remained a valuable asset.

2. Printer's copy for: Aurelius Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*. [Subiaco, in the types of Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz], 12 June 1467, fol.
ISTC ia01230000, GW 2874.
Exemplar: Subiaco, Abbazia di Santa Scolastica, MS Sublacense XLII.
Described and illustrated by Frova-Miglio (1980), Tav. 16–18. Summed up by Miglio in 'Il nero sulla carta bianca ovvero l'anello di Angelica' in *Gutenberg e Roma*, pp. 22–28, with illustrations on pp. 30, 32, and 43. Discussed by Lotte

Hellinga in 'Three Notes on Printer's Copy: Strassburg, Oxford, Subiaco', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1987), pp. 194–202, and further elaborated in the case study in the present collection, pp. 156–167.
Ford (1999), 1.

The manuscript was recognised as printer's copy as early as 1877 by Dom Leone Allodi in his catalogue of the manuscripts at Subiaco.

The text was corrected before being marked up for compositors. Copy was divided into four sections for concurrent production. Quires within each section were marked up by individual compositors, with errors. The text was set seriatim, printed a page at a time. There are traces of problems with copy-fitting. Inexperienced compositors marked some stints with the days of the week and times of the day, which allows the conclusion that they worked at irregular intervals, and that a single page may have been reckoned as the product of a half-day's work; the setting of verso pages followed rectos, which presumably were then printed in that order.

3. Printer's copy for: Bessarion, *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Add: *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus. De natura et arte*. Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz [1469, before 28 August], fol.
ISTC ib00518000, GW 4183.
Exemplar: Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Mss z.228 (1671) and Lat. VI 60 (2591) for *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus*.
Illustrated in *Gutenberg e Roma*, pp. 33–34.
Ford (1999), 2.

Briefly described by Frova-Miglio (1980), pp. 261–262, Tav. 20. Manuscript with extensive corrections by the author and by a later corrector. Use of two manuscripts facilitated concurrent production. Sequence of regular marks made by compositors, marking pages within quires. In-line marks correspond to page-ends in the incunable.

4. Printer's copy for: Titus Livius, *Historiae romanae Decades I, III, IV* (ed. Johannes Andreas Bussi). Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, [1469], fol.
ISTC il00236000, GW M18470.
Exemplar: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms 487, and BAV Ms Vat. lat. 6803.
Listed by Lombardi (1997), p. 35; BAV Ms Vat. lat. 6803 illustrated ibid. p. 33, no. 11.
Ford (1999), 3.

5. Printer's copy for: Strabo, *Geographia, libri XVI*. Translated by Guarinus Veronensis and Gregorius Tiphernas (ed. Johannes Andreas Bussi). Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, c. 1469, fol.

ISTC is00793000, GW M44085.

Exemplar: Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta Ms E 47.

Illustrated in Massimo Miglio (ed.), *Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipografi Romani* (Milan, 1978), Tav. 15. The marginal figures in distinct hands were reproduced as a table by Frova-Miglio (1980), Tav. 19, and Lombardi (1997), p. 37.

Ford (1999), 4.

Briefly described by Frova-Miglio (1980), pp. 258–259. The manuscript was not written in order to be printed; the text was corrected in preparation for the press. Marginal figures show casting off and marks made by compositors, resulting in a very regular composition of the book. Three hands can be distinguished in the annotation of the compositors. Frova-Miglio concluded that copy was divided to be produced concurrently. See also Figs. 2.1A–B.

6. Printer's copy for: *Biblia latina*. Strasbourg, Heinrich Eggestein, [1469–1470, not after 8 March 1470], fol.

ISTC ib00533000, GW 4208.

Exemplar: the copy Cambridge UL, Oates 14, of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible, ISTC ib00526000, GW 4201.

Described with illustrations of details by Paul Needham, 'A Gutenberg Bible Used as Printer's Copy by Heinrich Eggestein in Strassburg, ca. 1469', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1986), pp. 36–75. A brief comment in Lotte Hellinga, 'Three Notes on Printer's Copy: Strassburg, Oxford, Subiaco', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9/2 (1987), pp. 194–202.

Ford (1999), 6.

In his extensive and meticulous description of Eggestein's production of his third Latin Bible, Needham includes his observations on the preparation of the text for printing. There are c. 180 manuscript emendations from an unknown source clustered in only few places: Esdras, the Gospel of Luke, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. Other variants from copy were not marked but were apparently introduced in a proof correction phase. In the textual tradition of early printed traditions of the Latin Bible these variants are unique (pp. 56–68). In my comment I suggested that they may possibly be related to the textual traditions of one of the reform movements, e.g. Windesheim.

Copy consisted of unbound quires, which had been illuminated but not rubricated. Copy was initially divided into four large sections, the second and fourth of which were subsequently further divided into two, undoubtedly for concurrent production. Five compositors worked simultaneously. They show few individual characteristics, although their type cases can be distinguished by some differences in their composition (pp. 41–51). The compositors may have had a few distinct layout habits (pp. 52–53). In only one place are there traces of copy-fitting of sections: in vol. II, the final six pages of quire 26 are heavily abbreviated and condensed (p. 51).

After the division of copy there was no casting off of pages. Compositors progressed page by page within the sections. There is clear evidence that recto pages were printed (and by implication set) before verso pages. When the setting of pages was completed, the compositors marked their end with a vertical line in the text and a mark in the margin, to indicate where the following page had to begin. This mark most often took the form of a 'hash' or double cross, occasionally with a single cross or a double-stroked cross, drawing attention to the slight mark in the line and signifying where to begin the following page. This appears to be the same system as used by the compositors working for Fust and Schoeffer in 1462 when setting their Latin Bible (see above no. 1 in this list). Needham noted two places (one illustrated) where the placement of a mark differed by one word with a page-end in the edition, and the word was missed out (p. 48, Fig. 2). This error may have been caused by a shifting of text in the proofing phase, discussed and tabulated on pp. 58–59.

The final phase of the production of the work was the proofreading; no proofs survive, and it is noteworthy that in this phase rather more variants were introduced than were marked in manuscript: proofreading can therefore only be deduced from textual collation.

7. Printer's copy for: Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis* (ed. Johannes Andreas Bussi). Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1470, fol.
ISTC ip00787000, GW M34306.
Exemplar: BAV, Ms Vat. lat. 5991, copied from MS Angelicano 1097.
Ford (1999), 7.

The early editions of Pliny are discussed by R. Sabadini, 'Le edizioni quattro-centistiche della Storia naturale di Plinio', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 8 (1900), pp. 439–448, without addressing which manuscripts served as exemplar. MS Angelicano 1097 was first discussed by Adriana Marucchi, 'Note sul manoscritto di cui si è servito Giovanni Andrea Bussi per l'edizione di Plinio

del 1470', *Bulletin, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, 15 (1967–1968), pp. 178–182, with illustrations of the compositors' marks. She demonstrated that the manuscript, which was written in 1460 and which contains all the books of the *Historia naturalis*, was corrected in 1469 by Bussi with the help of Teodoro Gaza. It was then copied again between 15 December 1469, when Bussi completed his first correction, and 8 April 1470, into what is now Vat. lat. 5991, which contains only Books 18–37. This manuscript was written with the express purpose of being used by the printers, after further editing by Bussi.

The first editing phase is further described by Paola Casciano, 'Il Ms Angelicano 1097, fase preparatoria per l'edizione del Plinio di Sweynheym e Pannartz (H 1308)', in *Scrittura biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Vatican City, 1980), pp. 383–394.

The printer's copy is briefly described by Frova-Miglio (1980), pp. 257, 259–261, with reference to Marucchi. Illustrated by Massimo Miglio, *Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipografi Romani* (Milan, 1978), Tav. 14. *Gutenberg e Roma*, p. 32, no. 10, and p. 38, no. 18.

Bussi's editing was condemned by Niccolò Perotti in a letter to Francesco Guarnerio; see F. Monfasani, 'The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's Natural History', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41 (1988), pp. 1–31. See also Martin Davies, 'Making Sense of Pliny in the Quattrocento', *Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1995), pp. 240–257.

Printing was completed by 30 August 1470. Printing may have started while the copying of the manuscript was still in progress. Markings in the printing house show that successively 20 pages per quire were cast off, from which there is considerable deviation from the actual page-ends, which were marked by compositors. There is renumbering, apparently correcting a first casting off. Frova-Miglio conclude that after an initial division into two parts, copy was further divided between compositors for concurrent production; problems of copy-fitting led to variation in the number of leaves per quire, and to blanks being left. Within the sections, text was set seriatim.

8. Printer's copy for: Leo I, *Sermones et Epistulae* (ed. Johannes Andreas Bussi). Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1470, fol.
ISTC il00129000, IGI 5722, GW M17800.
Exemplar: a copy in Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, of the edition of the same text printed by Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, Rome, 1470, between 7 March and 21 September, fol. ISTC il00128500, IGI 5723, GW M17804.

Described by Piero Scapecchi, 'An Example of Printer's Copy used in Rome, 1470', *The Library*, 6th ser. 12 (1990), pp. 50–52.

Illustrated: Piero Scapecchi, *Catalogo incunaboli Biblioteca Marucelliana* (Rome, 1989), no. 4, with colour plate of leaf [q]9ᵃ, showing Bussi's marginal corrections in red and his note stating that he had finished textual revision ('Secunda recognitio') on 21 September 1470, as well as subsequent in-line compositor's page division.

Ford (1999), 8.

Shortly after its publication by Johannes de Lignamine in 1470, the Marucelliana copy was annotated with textual corrections by Bussi and marked up for reprinting; the resulting reprint was published by Sweynheym and Pannartz in the same year.

9. Printer's copy for: Flavius Blondus, *Roma instaurata*. [Rome, Printer of Statius, 1471, before July], fol.

ISTC ib00701000, GW 4422.

Exemplar: BAV Ms Ottob. lat. 1279.

Ford (1999), 9.

Described by Massimo Miglio in an unpublished lecture (1998).

Author's autograph prepared for the press by his son.

10. Printer's copy for: Johannes Tortellius, *Orthographia*. Rome, Ulrich Han and Simon Nicolai Chardella, 1471 [after 10 August], fol.

ISTC it00394000, GW M47210.

Exemplar: BAV Ms Vat. lat. 3319.

Described and illustrated by Luisa Capoduro, 'L'edizione Romana del "De Orthographia" di Giovanni Tortelli (Hain 15563) e Adamo da Montaldo', in Massimo Miglio, etc. (eds.), *Scrittura, bibioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*: *Atti del 20 seminario 6–8 maggio 1982* (Vatican City, 1983), pp. 37–56 (42–47), Tav. 2, 3, 5.

Ford (1999), 10.

The manuscript was corrected throughout by Adamo Montaldo, who also provided a preface. Below some sections of the manuscript a note in small script declares the text 'correctus est' or 'correcto'. Copy was divided into six sections of c. 50 leaves each for concurrent production (listed by Capoduro, Appendix I). Sections were cast off, noting the number of the quires within sections, and pages within the quires (Appendix II). Compositors marked their progress as they went along, deviating from the casting off. They marked page-ends with

strokes within the text, and they noted page numbers in Arabic numerals in the margins. Conclusion: typesetting progressed seriatim within the predivided sections.

Plate 3 shows a deep blind impression on a leaf of the manuscript of at least one, possibly more, lines of type.

11. Printer's copy for: Albertus de Eyb, *Margarita poetica*. Nuremberg, Johann Sensenschmidt, 2 December 1472, fol.
ISTC ie00170000, GW 9529.
Exemplar: Eichstätt UB, Cod. st 633 (autograph).
Described by: Matthias Thumser, 'Ein Standardwerk auf dem Weg in den Druck: Albrecht von Eyb und seine *Margarita poetica*', in Anne Eusterschulte etc., (eds.), *Buchkulturen des deutschen Humanismus (1430–1530)*. (Leiden, forthcoming).
Illustrated: Abb. 1, including horizontal stroke (printing-house mark?).

Manuscript on paper, quarto, completed by the author in 1459 (explicit). Described by Karl Heinz Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt*, vol. III (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 330–336, who notes sporadic authorial corrections. The contents of Eyb's compilation, consisting of texts by himself and anthologies of classical and humanist prose and verse, were made accessible by a table of contents followed by an alphabetical index of authors and subjects, with leaf references. Rubrics and paragraph marks were executed in red. Marginalia occur in many places as further aids to the reader. Thumser concludes that the manuscript was prepared by the author as a 'master-copy' for further dissemination of the text by copying.

In his *Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus* (Berlin, 1893), Max Hermann noted a link between the manuscript and the first edition. He observed that horizontal lines marked in the manuscript correspond to page-ends in the *editio princeps* printed by Johann Sensenschmidt. He was convinced that the lines were placed by Eyb himself, and were traces left by his proofreading. Thumser, however, does not doubt that that the manuscript was used as printer's copy, and by implication that the lines were placed during production in the printing house. The autograph master-copy would once again have been made available by the author for copying, this time in print. If so, it was apparently used with caution and discretion, to be returned to the author.

Sensenschmidt's edition is very close to the text as presented in the manuscript, the main difference in presentation being that there is no red printing

for the rubrics, and that instead of marginalia a reference system of marginal capitals was introduced, which links text to index. This system is explained at the beginning of the book.

12. Printer's copy for Nicolaus Perottus, *Rudimenta grammatices*. Rome, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 19 March 1473, fol.
ISTC ip00300000, GW M31241.
Exemplar: BAV Ms Vat. lat. 6737, autograph manuscript.
Briefly described by G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti* [Studi e testi 44.] (Rome, 1925). Two extensive descriptions, independent of each other, by W.K. Percival, 'Early Editions of Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta Grammatices*', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 9 (1986). Giuseppe Lombardi, 'L'editio princeps dei "Rudimenta grammatices" di Niccolò Perotti', in *Cultura umanistica a Viterbo: Per il v centenario della stampa a Viterbo 1488–1988* (Viterbo, 1988), pp. 123–152. Also, Lombardi in *Gutenberg e Roma*, pp. 37–40.
Ford (1999), 11.

The autograph manuscript is marked up with marginal figures, with many changes and corrections. Lombardi distinguishes division of copy into three parts according to the structure of the manuscript, not of the text. He distinguishes four compositors, who produced the work simultaneously. Casting off was originally into 12 quires, but the quire structure was changed, resulting in variants between copies. Pages were cast off and compositors deviated from the casting off, marking the ends of pages with a stroke either within the lines or in the margin. Conclusion: the work was set seriatim, within the three predivided sections. Percival noted in particular the independent spelling and occasional corrections, not marked in the manuscript, which originated in the printing house, as well as a few new errors.

13. Printer's copy for: Bernardus Claravallensis, *De consideratione*. [Utrecht, Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt, 1474]. fol.
ISTC ib00367000, GW 3913, ILC 376.
Exemplar: Utrecht University Library, Ms 2 C 6. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno Trajectinae*, 157.
Described and illustrated by Wytze Gs Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands: An Atlas of Historical Bibliography* (Amsterdam, 1962), vol. I, pp. 110–111, and nos. 11, and 12, Illustrated: vol. II, Plates 11 and 12. Also discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Le cinquième centenaire de l'imprimerie dans les Anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1973), pp. 101–103.
Ford (1999), 12.

The manuscript is written on vellum, in two columns, rubricated and with fine initials with elaborate penwork in red and blue; the printed edition has long lines. It has the owner's inscription: 'Iste liber p*ertinet* regul*aribus* in traiecto' (i.e. the house of the Regular Canons in Utrecht).

The manuscript was used with great care. Page numbers (Arabic numerals) of recto pages within quires are scratched blind. *Copy and Print*, vol. I, pp. 166–167, includes a list of variants between manuscript and print, showing that the printed version is less contracted. As far as illustrations go, there is no sign of previous casting off. It seems probable—although evidence is insufficient—that the text was set seriatim. Without further investigation it is, however, not possible to be certain what order of typesetting was followed.

14. Printer's copy for: Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas [Albertus Magnus], *Tractatus de divinis moribus*. [Utrecht, Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt, 1474]. fol.

ISTC it00286000, GW M46221, ILC 2090.

Exemplar: Utrecht University Library, Ms 4 G 14. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno Trajectinae*, 297.

Described by Wytze Gs Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands: An Atlas of Historical Bibliography* (Amsterdam, 1962), vol. I, nos. 13–16, Illustrated: vol. II, Plates 13–16. Also discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Le cinquième centenaire de l'imprimerie dans les Anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1973), pp. 96–99. Lotte Hellinga, 'Problems about Technique and Methods in a Fifteenth-Century Printing House (Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gherardus de Leempt, Utrecht, 1473–1475)', with an 'Appendix on paper' by Wytze Hellinga in *Villes d'imprimerie et moulins a papier du XIVe au XVe Siècle*: *Aspects économiques et sociaux*. Actes du Colloque international [...] 1973. (Brussels, 1976), pp. 301–314 (308–310).

Ford (1999), 13.

The manuscript used as printer's copy was bound (after use in the printing house?) with other tracts. It was written on paper, illuminated with initials with penwork, and rubricated. The tract volume has the ownership inscriptions 'Iste liber p*ertinet* ad carthusiense p*rope* T*r*aiectu*m* inferi*um*' and 'P*ertinet* ad f*ratr*es carthus*ienses* ex*tra* traiectu*m*' (i.e. the Charterhouse Nieuwlicht, or Bloemendaal, near Utrecht).

Page numbers of recto pages within quires were noted with Arabic numerals in the margins; the transition to verso pages was noted with angled scratches. Vertical strokes within lines coincide with page-ends in the printed book. A vertical stroke within the line is illustrated, *Copy and Print*, Plate 15 (correcting a stroke misplaced a line below).

Paper evidence indicates that in this printing house the printing of large books was divided between two presses (W. Hellinga, 1976), and it is therefore a logical step to assume that compositors worked separately for two presses. There are traces of the counting of lines (three at a time) for casting off, in preparation for division of copy, which may also have served as casting off for pages. There is evidence for non-sequential setting and printing in another edition, Thomas a Kempis, *Opera*, fol. undated [1474], ILC 2100. An error of imposition in some copies shows that four pages of a sheet (pages 5–6, 11–12 in quire m^8) were in type at the same time. This indicates that either the printer would have finished sheets in non-sequential order or the printing house had acquired a two-pull press that could accommodate two folio pages at a time. The marks in the Thomas Aquinas edition need further investigation before we can be certain as to the precise function of the casting off in this case.

15. Printer's copy for: Werner Rolewinck, *Paradisus conscientiae*. Cologne, Arnold ther Hoernen, 1475. fol.
ISTC ir00290000, GW M38779, VK 1045.
Exemplar: Cologne, Stadtarchiv W 122, author's autograph with his own corrections. Damaged in 2009 and not accessible at the time of writing (information courtesy of Dr Max Plassmann, Stadtarchiv, Köln).
Described and illustrated by Margaret L. Ford, 'Author's Autograph and Printer's Copy: Werner Rolewinck's *Paradisus conscientiae*', in Martin Davies (ed.), *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga* (London, 1999), pp. 109–128, with one plate.
Ford (1999), 14.

The manuscript includes many corrections by the author, and additional material is written in the margins. All is incorporated into the text of the edition.

The manuscript is marked by compositors with very small circles in the outer margin, and small hash marks or oblique strokes to mark the lines with a page break. The text is set in columns, whereas the manuscript has long lines. There are also, apparently independent of the compositor's marks, drypoint lines which appear to indicate a division of the pages into columns, although they are not precisely followed by the compositors. They may be the traces of a very rough estimate before production.

The number of lines of manuscript reproduced in a page of printing varied greatly between quires, from 41 to 45 lines, and could also fluctuate within quires, even by 5 lines. Taken together, this strongly suggests that setting and printing were seriatim, which is confirmed by the pattern of pages ending within lines of the manuscript. Ford notes, however, a preference for ending

lines in print as lines in the manuscript, and for avoiding word breaks over a page break. She suggests that in following this rule a distinction may be made between two compositors. Textual collation shows that the typesetting was as accurate as claimed in the colophon, which declares in emphatic red: 'Impressus […] sicut ab autore suo editus est ac secundum primum exemplar quod ipse venerabilis auctor propriis conscripsit manibus ad finem …'.

16. Printer's copy for: Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia fiorentina*, translated from the Latin into Italian by Jacopo Poggio. Venice, Jacobus Rubeus, 8 March 1476, fol.
ISTC ip00873000, GW M34604.
Exemplar: Beinecke Library, Yale University, MS 321.
Described and illustrated by Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University* (Binghamton, NY, 1987), pp. 128–130. Also: Barbara A. Shailor, *The Medieval Book: Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University* (New Haven, CT, 1988). Further analysis in a case study in the present collection, pp. 201–217, also published in *La Bibliofilia*, 115 (2013), pp. 119–134. See also above, Figs. 2.5A–B.
Ford (1999), 15.

The manuscript of the Italian translation was written in Florence in 1475 in a clear humanist hand, and shortly thereafter it was taken by Girolamo Strozzi to Venice, where he commissioned Jacques le Rouge to print this text, along with another history of Florence by Leonardo Bruni Aretino. A translation into Italian of Pliny's *Historia naturalis* was also commissioned by Strozzi, who financed the edition printed by Nicolas Jenson.

In the manuscript—recently written, and possibly intended for use by a printer—there was no further correction of the text, but there are some indications of preferred spelling which are only found in the first few quires; apparently they were instructions to compositors, which they did not consistently follow later. The text was divided into four sections for concurrent production. Setting within the sections was seriatim. Three of these sections coincided with the text's division into books (Books I–II, V–VI, and VII–VIII), but the second section did not, and was therefore cast off page by page, obviously with the intention to fit this section accurately to section 3. Hooks around lines are the marks of casting off, combined with small Arabic figures in the margins. A page was erroneously missed out in casting off, which caused a copy-fitting problem at the end of the second section, solved by strong abbreviation and contraction in the final quire. In all four sections compositors marked the pages with curly

signs as they finished them. There was constant variation from the exemplar in spelling, word breaks, and punctuation.

17. Printer's copy for: Bartholomaeus Fontius, *Explanatio in Persium. Epistola de ponderibus et mensuris*. Florence, Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1477, not before December, 4⁰.
ISTC if00241000, GW 10170.
Exemplar: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 666 (*olim* M.IV.25).

Not described as printer's copy. The manuscript is described in S. Caroti and S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartlomeo Fonzio unamista fiorentino* (Milan, 1974), pp. 50–51, Plate VIII. A recent description of the manuscript is in ICCU's database *Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane*. Confirmed as printer's copy by Silvia Fiaschi, 'Una copia di tipografia', *Rinascimento*, 41 (2001), p. 273, n. 16, where she notes blind and lightly inked marks as found in the Ms Laur. plut. 89 sup. 113 (see below, no. 24). The printing of 300 copies (90 leaves in quarto) apparently took from late December 1477 to February 1478. See Melissa Conway, *The* Diario *of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli 1476–1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Florence, 1999), p. 29 and the entry in the Diario, p. 144.
    Ford (1999), 16.

18. Printer's copy for: Donatus Acciaiolus, *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis*. Florence, Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1478, not after 14 January, fol.
ISTC ia00017000, GW 140.
Exemplar: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms Magl. XXI. 136–137.
Described by Piero Scapecchi, 'New Light on the Ripoli Edition of the Expositio of Donato Acciaioli', in Denis V. Reidy (ed.), *The Italian Book 1465–1800: Studies Presented to Dennis Rhodes on his 70th Birthday* (London, 1993), pp. 31–33.
Ford (1999), 19.

Manuscript on paper, author's autograph. Book V and the final leaves of Book IV are missing. Compositors' marks were made in the margins in ink and drypoint. Corrections in the author's hand, presumably in preparation for printing, are incorporated into the printed text. Scapecchi notes that the work was printed 'page for page', i. e. seriatim. It was printed shortly after Bartholomaeus Fontius, *Explanatio in Persium* (see no. 17 above). The Ripoli Diario edited by Melissa Conway (see no. 17 above) records (fol. 32ᵛ) that the complete book was handed over by the author on 14 January 1477/1478. Scapecchi suggests that printing of

the work had begun after August 1477, and that it was commissioned by the author.

19. Printer's copy for: Laurentius Gulielmus Traversanus de Saona, *Margarita eloquentiae*, *sive Nova Rhetorica*. Westminster, William Caxton, 1478, after 26 July, fol.

ISTC it00427750, GW 12070, Duff 368.

Exemplar: BAV Ms Vat. lat. 11441, author's autograph with many corrections by the author.

Described and illustrated by Joseph Ruysschaert, 'Les manuscrits autographes de deux oeuvres de Lorenzo Guglielmo Traversagni imprimées chez Caxton', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, *Manchester*, 36 (1953–1954), pp. 191–197, with two plates.

Ford (1999), 17.

The manuscript, on paper, of the *Margarita eloquentiae* is part of a volume of tracts written by Laurenzo Traversagni and his brother Giovanni Antonio. In the left-hand margins of the manuscript, sequences of Arabic figures correspond to pages within quires of Caxton's edition. In the right-hand margin the end of lines are ticked with a regular small sign, indicating where the typeset page ended. In an otherwise perfectly regular sequence there is one irregularity, in the first quire. Initially the first four leaves (eight pages) in a quire of 10 leaves were left blank. The marginal figures in the text run from 5 to 20. This state is represented in e.g. the copy in Uppsala UL. During printing, the structure of the first quire was changed, and instead of 10 leaves it was composed of six leaves, the first two blank, the quire followed by a bifolium; thus, a sheet was saved. This state is represented by e.g. the copy at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The manuscript offers no explanation for this change. We may speculate that initially the intention was to include a preliminary text. What had been the middle sheet of the quire of 10 leaves (pages 9–12 and 10–11) now became the middle sheet of the quire of six (pages 5–8, 6–7); pages 13–16 in the original structure were conjugate with blanks, as they were in the new structure of six leaves, beginning with two blanks. At this point the last four pages, now folded as a bifolium, could presumably be combined without loss of paper or effort. This course of events suggests that typesetting took place seriatim. It is difficult to confirm this, since the compositor obviously made a habit of ending pages at the end of a line. Ruysschaert notes that word breaks were avoided, even when they occurred in the manuscript. In very few places the end of a page was marked in the middle of a line. Since these were not specified by Ruysschaert, who collated the manuscript with a microfilm of the edition and the copy at

Turin BN, it is not possible to decide whether this should change the conclusion that the book was set seriatim. When I briefly examined the manuscript, I did not have a basis for collation with the printed edition.

20. Printer's copy for: Jean Bagnyon, *Le roman de Fierebras le Géant*. Genève, [Adam Steinschaber], 28 November 1478, fol.
ISTC if00167700, GW 12542.
Exemplar (?): Genève, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ms fr. 188.
Noted as printer's copy, but not described by Antal Lökkös, *Catalogue des incunables imprimés à Genève 1478–1500* (Geneva, 1978), no. 4. The manuscript is described in [Paule Hochuli Dubuis], *Catalogue des manuscrits français*, 5th ed. (Geneva, 2011), no. 188, with the title 'Histoire de Charlemagne'; although dated 'between 1470 and 1478', which may imply the dependency of the printed edition on the manuscript, no features of marked-up printer's copy are included in the description.

21. Printer's copy for: Tyrannius Rufinus, *Explanatio in symbolum apostolorum*. Oxford, [Printer of Rufinus], 17 December '1468' [1478], 4⁰.
ISTC ir00352000, GW M08077, Duff 234, BMC XI, p. 234.
Exemplar: London BL, Sloane MS 1579.
Described and illustrated by Albinia de la Mare and Lotte Hellinga, 'The First Book Printed in Oxford: The *Expositio Symboli* of Rufinus', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1978), pp. 184–244. See case study on pp. 218–227, and above Fig. 2.2.
Ford (1999), 18.

The small book was printed on divided half-sheets. The text of the manuscript was cast off, the planned page-ends marked by small dots but not by page numbers. For the first quire of 16 pages the number of lines counted off varied between 28 and 31; in the following quires [b] to [e] the counting is more regular, with a few exceptions counting 28 lines, the exceptions never below 27 or above 29 lines. Casting off was necessary because the book was not set seriatim. Problems with copy-fitting are evident by major deviations from the text and also variations in the density of typesetting. Some copies allow the observation that verso pages were always printed after recto pages; the conclusion is that the printer attempted to complete sheets within quires. 'Sheet-by-sheet printing' may be the best way to describe his method.

22. Printer's copy for: Hans Tucher, *Reise in das gelobte Land*. Augsburg, Johann Schönsperger, 1482 [before 23 February], fol.

ISTC it00490000, GW M47728.

Exemplar: Nuremberg, Stadtarchiv, E29 (FA Tucher)/ III, Nr 11, ff. 2ʳ–185ᵛ.

Described by Randall Herz, *Die 'Reise ins Gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480): Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts* [Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 34] (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 92–96, 226–236. Illustrated Abb. 5–7, Abb. 7 showing casting off.

Manuscript on paper, written by a professional scribe in preparation for printing, with some corrections by the author. In the margin, marks for casting-off consisting of a minuscule letter (a–h) mark the beginning of each quire, followed by sequences of Arabic numerals (1–20, 1–16); small horizontal strokes mark the beginning of pages. The compositor marked the places where he had actually ended the pages with heavier strokes, showing that he deviated from casting off in all but 10 places. The conclusion is that the text was set seriatim. There was no obvious division of copy. Herz observed in this edition many compositorial interventions (adaptations from the Nuremberg linguistic forms of the manuscript to Augsburg usage, some abbreviations of the text), which were apparently independent, since they are not marked in the manuscript.

A second set of markings in a different hand can be identified as casting off for the quarto edition printed in Nuremberg by Conrad Zeninger between 23 February and 20 March 1482 (ISTC it00492000, GW M47732). The second edition followed the Augsburg edition within weeks, apparently because the first was not considered satisfactory by the author, who had commissioned it. The casting off is again a sequence of minuscule letters to mark the beginning of quires, followed by a sequence of numerals. They are in a hand distinct from that of the first casting off, and each beginning of a page is also marked by a tick. Zeninger's Nuremberg edition does not deviate significantly from his own casting off, but its version is largely derived from the Augsburg edition, sharing many of its readings, which are not marked in the manuscript. But the manuscript must have been consulted, for some of the readings abbreviated in Augsburg were restored. Herz suggests that Zeninger may have worked from an annotated copy of the Augsburg edition.

23. Printer's copy for: Raoul Lefèvre, *Historie van Jason* (translated from French into Dutch). Haarlem, Jacob Bellaert, [1485, before 5 May], fol.

ISTC il00111000, GW M17467, ILC 1417.

Exemplar: London BL, Add MS 10290 (1).

Described and illustrated by Lotte Hellinga, *Methode en praktjk bij het zetten*

van boeken in de vijftiende eeuw [doctoral thesis] (Amsterdam, 1974) See case study on pp. 304–364. See also above Figs. 2.3A–D.

Ford, (1999), 20.

Manuscript on paper, illustrated with washed pen drawings by the Jason Master. Some corrections made prior to printing. The manuscript was cast off a quire at a time, sometimes marked by small dashes when counting two lines at a time. Set in two columns, with woodcuts over the width of the page, each calculated as half a page. Compositors marked page-ends as vertical dashes in-text, or as blind scratches between lines. Towards the end of the work some large Arabic figures correspond with the numbering of leaves in the quire for rectos, while verso pages are marked with curly marks. These marks were made while casting off. Patterns of conforming and not conforming to casting off, and traces of copy-fitting lead to the conclusion that the book was set by formes.

24. Printer's copy for: Leon Baptista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria* (ed. Bernardus de Albertis, with as prelims a letter of Angelo Poliziano to Lorenzo de Medici, and a *Carmen* by Baptista Siculus). Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii Alemanus, 29 December 1485, fol.

ISTC ia00215000, GW 579.

Exemplar: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Ms Plut. 89 sup. 113 e 1.

Described and illustrated by Silvia Fiaschi, 'Una copia di tipografia finora sconosciuta: Il Laurenziano Plut. 89 sup. 113 e l''Editio princeps' de *De re aedificatoria*', *Rinascimento*, 41 (2001), pp. 267–284, with four plates.

Manuscript on paper, written in Florence, c. 1480–1485. Corrections in the text prior to typesetting are marked with small dots or crosses and are incorporated into the printed version. In addition some errors in the manuscript version are corrected in print, apparently during proofreading (pp. 278, 280). Marginal Arabic figures are partly in ink, partly blind, with some duplication and even triplication in the sequences (p. 275). Apparently copy had initially been cast off for setting by formes, and deviations from the casting off were noted by compositors. Copy was probably divided into three parts, showing differences in the hands which carried out the preparation (p. 274). The printer's copy for the prelims—Poliziano's letter and the *Carmen*—does not survive.

Compositors' marks in the manuscript of *De re aedificatoria* are horizontal lines, parallel slashes, crosses, and square hooks, all made with drypoint (p. 273, and well illustrated in Tav. IV). This also shows a drypoint circle around what was to become the last word of a recto page in print. Sequences of Arabic numerals 1–16, 1–8, 1–12 in drypoint correspond precisely with the pages within

quires of the printed edition (p. 274). They must be the final marks made by compositors.

The number of lines of print varied between a standard 34 lines to 32 or 33, but corresponds generally to 38–40 lines of script. Fiaschi concludes from the variation in the number of lines, especially in the inner sheet of quires, that this was a sign of copy-fitting, and that setting and printing took place by formes (p. 272), working from the outer formes inwards. Printing would have taken place on a two-pull press (p. 275). Some marks in the manuscript correspond to the section of text which exists in duplicate setting in the final quire (see BMC VI, pp. 630–631).

25. Printer's copy for: Augustinus, *Opuscula plurima*. Venice, Dionysius Berto-
    chus, 26 March 1491, 4⁰.
ISTC ia01219000, GW 2866.
Exemplar for part of this edition: London BL, Add MS 69793.
Described: Christie's (London sale), 2 December 1987, lot 155, where the manu-
    script was recognised as printer's copy, but the resulting edition remained
    unidentified. *The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts*,
    n. s. 1986–1990, Part II (London, 1993), no. 69793. Illustrated in the Christie's
    catalogue (the opening page, without printer's marks).
Ford (1999), 21.

The edition of works by Augustinus printed by Bertochus was largely reprinted from the edition printed by Martin Flach, Strasbourg, 20 March 1489, GW 2865, as noted in BMC V, p. 488. Five more tracts were added at the end, but before Possidius's 'Vita sancti Augustini', with which both Flach's and Berchorius's books end. The first of the additional tracts is 'De consensu Evangelistarum', which forms the contents of the manuscript that is now Add MS 69793. In the printed book it occupies six eight-leaf quires (C1ʳ–H8ᵛ).

The manuscript (110 leaves) is written on vellum in a regular and clear *littera rotunda italiana*, in two columns of 33 lines. It is decorated with three initials in red, blue, and gold, with part-borders and an unidentified coat of arms on fol. 1ʳ. Two-line initials with gold appear throughout, flourished in red and blue. Both Christie's and the British Library catalogues date the manuscript 'late 14th century', with the queried location 'north-east Italy'. There are early marginal corrections, as well as some corrections in a different hand which seem to be of a later date and may have been made in preparation for printing. The codex was rebound in the eighteenth century in a simple binding of mottled calf. The margins, which originally must have been very wide, were probably cropped with the rebinding, leading to the loss of many of the compositors' marks.

The marks are all made in light ink. When surviving intact they consist of the quire letter followed by the number of the page within the quire in an Arabic numeral (except 'prima') and a superscript 'a', all placed in the margin. Between the lines of text a very lightly inked line, sometimes crossed with two short lines, marks the transition of pages. Many of the beginnings of quires are marked with a cross. The distance between the marks is consistently 151 lines, or just over four and a half columns. The marks are visible from 17$^{\text{v}}$, col. 1, where only a thin line remains, and on 18$^{\text{v}}$, where all that can be seen is 'a', for 'prima', recognised because the next mark, on 19$^{\text{v}}$, survives in full as 'D2$^{\text{a}}$'. The sequence continues very regularly, but it disappears from view between fol. 41$^{\text{v}}$ and 53$^{\text{r}}$, where 'E16' is marked, at which point the sequence continues to the end. The beginning of the final quire, H^{8}, does not have page numbers but just the letter H, until 'H14' appears in the margin. The last page is marked twice, with a difference of two lines, no doubt to ensure a balanced page at the end; in this the compositors succeeded, for the text ends neatly at the end of column b on H8$^{\text{b}}$, without signs of undue contraction or expansion. Overall, the impression is of a competent routine following casting off to produce a very densely printed quarto edition on royal paper in full sheets. (GW 2866 wrongly designates the format as folio.)

26. Printer's copy for: Pius II, Pont. Max., *In Europam*, or *Historia Frederici III* (ed. Michael Cristan). [Memmingen, Albrecht Kunne, 1491, not after March], 4$^{\text{o}}$.
ISTC ip00727000, GW M33717.
Exemplar: Princeton, NJ, Scheide Library, Ms SC 4.3.12.
The editor's methods of copy preparation are discussed by Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London, 2011), pp. 93–99 and figs. 25–28.
Ford (1999), 22, refers to unpublished catalogue notes by Bernard M. Rosenthal for a description of the casting off and compositor's annotation.

Manuscript on paper, written c. 1480. Marginal and interlinear notes by the editor, Michael Cristan. He wrote out abbreviated words, altered spellings, and corrected obvious slips, with occasional conjectural emendations. After handing over copy to the printer, the editor obviously did not read proofs, for some of his notes were misread or ignored by the compositor (Grafton pp. 96–99).

27. Printer's copy for: *Dives and Pauper*. London, Richard Pynson, 5 July 1493, fol.
ISTC ip00117000, GW M29464, Duff 339, BMC XI, pp. 272–273.
Exemplar: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Eng. th. d. 36.

Described and illustrated by Margery M. Morgan, 'Pynson's Manuscript of Dives
    and Pauper', *The Library*, 5th ser. 8 (1953), pp. 217–228, with two plates.
Ford (1999), 23.

The printer's copy is a fifteenth-century manuscript on vellum, defective at the
beginning and end, written over two columns. The text has scribal corrections
as well as corrections made in preparation for printing, including modernisa-
tion of archaic forms and capitalisation of personal names. The manuscript
was clearly marked up, with marks to indicate the beginning of quires (large
crosses and sometimes asterisks), and marginal Arabic figures in sequences 1–
12, 1–16 corresponding to pages within quires of the printed edition. There are
also blind scratches running into lines, and vertical strokes in-line to mark the
end of pages. Plate I shows the beginnig of a quire marked by asterisk, the final
words of the preceding page lightly circled. Although not distinguished as such
by Morgan, who described the manuscript at a time before the significance
of setting and printing by formes had been revealed, they appear to be marks
made by initial casting off, and marks made subsequently by compositors. In
addition to the marks she noted, I observed that in casting off, the transition of
pages was often indicated by a point on the left-hand side of the line.

The printed book is a substantial volume of 244 leaves, printed over two
columns. Morgan concluded from different patterns of compositorial behav-
iour that copy was divided in two for simultaneous production. A peculiarity
of the first compositor noted by Morgan was that he often tried to reproduce the
lines as written in the manuscript (as if copying verse)—although later exam-
ination shows that this happened less often than would appear from Morgan's
description. He avoided word breaks. Plate II shows, however, that in the first
part of the text short dashes were also placed within the line to show where a
page ended. Another compositor, Morgan noted, working on the second half of
the book, often resorted to overrunning, adding several words below the bot-
tom line of the second column. She also noted occasional irregularities which
can now be interpreted as the results of copy-fitting, once, on leaf b5ᵃ, even
resulting in leaving out one sentence of text. This is on the middle sheet of quire
b⁸, and we may therefore conclude that the book was set non-seriatim, presum-
ably by formes, from the outer forme working inwards.

Another error in fitting pages which occurred in quire m led to repetition
of the last line of a recto page on the following verso. This was discovered
during printing: marks in the manuscript were duplicated when the page was
reset, and both settings survive in extant copies. A trial pull of leaf A6 (BL,
IB. 55492a, BMC XI, p. 273) shows no variants to the final text. Morgan noted
that there are many small variants in spelling and punctuation not marked

in the manuscript. They might have been introduced in a proof phase, but in view of observations in other vernacular typesetting, it now seems more probable that they were introduced by compositors, following their own habits and preferences. Otherwise the resetting was accurate, the text substantially followed.

28. Printer's copy for: Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*. Nuremberg, Anton Koberger for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 12 July 1493, fol.
With woodcuts by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.
ISTC is00307000, GW M40784.
Exemplar: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. II 98.
Described and illustrated by: Elisabeth Rücker, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik: Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit* (Munich, 1973), with many illustrations. Adrian Wilson, assisted by Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam, 1976), revised ed. 1978; very fully illustrated with pages of printer's copy and print. Christoph Reske, *Die Produktion der Schedelschen Weltchronik in Nürnberg / The production of Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle* [Mainzer Studien zur Buchwissenschaft Bd 10]
(Wiesbaden, 2000).
Ford (1999), 24.

The publication of the two versions of the Nuremberg Chronicle, in Latin and in German, was one of the most innovative and ambitious publishing ventures of the fifteenth century, certainly so once basic technique and procedures were well established and stable. No other printing of the period is better documented, in the form of surviving contracts, the printer's copy for both versions, publisher's accounts, and the large number of surviving copies of both books. This wealth of material has attracted a great deal of literature on many aspects of the two books. In the context of the present study I shall address only the printer's copy.

The author and publishers intended to produce a history of the world in which text and illustrations were closely integrated. To this end two experienced artists, Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, were commissioned to produce woodcuts, but under strict contractual conditions; they made 652 woodblocks, resulting, with repeats, in more than 1800 impressions. Most of the famous large panoramas of towns were squared-off blocks, sometimes printed over two facing pages, but many more woodblocks did not have a uniform shape. Instead they were given many forms: garlands, lineages of testamentary figures and kings, pseudo-portraits, and smaller symbols were

presented as if cut out, and could be scattered through the text or framing a page. Obviously, their space on the page could not be calculated in advance as equivalent to a section of text.

The printer solved the problem of ensuring that each page would include text combined with the appropriate illustrations in an unpredictable arrangement, by ensuring that artists and scribes prepared in advance the layout for each page. To create this model for the printing house, author, scribes, and artists must have worked closely together, jointly deciding on how to display on the page the history of the world in words and images. In the printer's copy the design of the woodcuts is usually sketched lightly and vaguely, often as a mirror image of the printed version, which suggests that the actual blocks were to hand and provided the accurate dimensions. The sketches were enough for the compositors to identify the blocks for making up the page. Wilson (1976, p. 56) notes that close examination shows that the sketches were usually made first, for the scribe occasionally wrote over part of the sketch. In the writing the hands of seven scribes can be distinguished in the Latin version (four main scribes), and only two in the German version, which was not executed with the same care as the Latin model. The resulting models, or exemplars, are two paper manuscripts of 335 and 293 leaves, respectively.

The two vast models have none of the conventional marks of casting off and compositors' marks as seen in other printer's copy of the fifteenth century, for each page was set precisely according to the model, the text ending as indicated there. The only place where such marks are found is in the alphabetical index, illustrated by Wilson (1976, pp. 70–71) as showing a line between lines of manuscript (as it happens, one line before the actual page break), and in the margin the figure 4.

The models were recognised and recorded as printer's copy as early as 1742, and were first described by Hans Stegmann, 'Die Handzeichnungen der Manuskripte der Schedelschen Weltchronik', in *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (1895), pp. 115–120. But it took a book designer with great experience designing illustrated books—Adrian Wilson—to fully appreciate the organisational skill with which a printer in the fifteenth century met the challenge of producing a complex illustrated book by coordinating the work of the people who were to create it.

29. Printer's copy for: Hartmann Schedel, *Das Buch der Chroniken und Geschichten* (translated by Georg Alt from the *Liber chronicarum*). Nuremberg, Anton Koberger for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 23 December 1493, fol.
With woodcuts by Michael Wohlgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.

ISTC is00309000, GW m40796.

Exemplar: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. II 99.

Described as above, and in addition the introduction by Stephan Füssel to the facsimile edition of the German version (Cologne, 2001).

Ford (1999), 25.

30. Printer's copy for: Giovanni Boccaccio, *The fall of princes* (translated from the French of Laurent de Premierfait by John Lydgate). London, Richard Pynson, 27 January 1494, fol.

ISTC ib00710000, GW 4431, Duff 46, BMC XI, pp. 274–275.

Exemplar: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English Ms 2.

Described by Margery M. Morgan, in 'Notes and News', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 33 (1950–1951), pp. 194–196.

Ford (1999), 26.

A fine manuscript on vellum of the mid-fifteenth century, written over two columns. The printed text was also laid out in two columns. Very small marginal corrections in the manuscript are included in the printed text; Morgan assumes they were corrections made when preparing the text for printing. The manuscript was marked up in the printing house. The first page of each quire is marked with the letter of the quire. Sequences of marginal Arabic figures 1–16, and at the end 1–6, corresponding to pages within quires were probably regular, but many of the figures were erased, leaving visible traces. Apparently the manuscript had to be returned to the owner in good condition. Since the text is in stanzas of verse, set with spaces between the stanzas, casting off and marking after the setting of pages do not leave the same traces as for a text in prose. There would not be any marks mid-line, for the number of lines of verse determined the contents of the pages in print. Morgan observed that the compositor consistently ended pages with the last line of a stanza, which led to irregular numbers of lines per page, and even differences in the number of lines between columns on the same page. Woodcuts were placed at the beginning of the seven books in which the text is divided; no signs of difficulty in fitting them into the correct place have been noted.

With a text in verse, and very summarily described, it is not possible to ascertain whether the book was set by formes, although by this time, and in view of the other instance of Richard Pynson's printer's copy (no. 26 above), this is highly probable.

31. Printer's copy for: John Lydgate, *The siege of Thebes*. Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde, [1494?], 4⁰.

ISTC il00410500, GW M19614, Duff 268, BMC XI, pp. 194–195.

Exemplar: Oxford, St John's College, Ms 266.

Described by Gavin Bone, 'Extant Manuscripts Printed from by W. de Worde with Notes on the Owner, Roger Thorney', *The Library*, 4th ser. (1932), pp. 284–305 (pp. 286–295). P. Simpson, *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1935); reprinted with an introduction by Harry Carter (London, 1970), pp. 57–59 and facsimile page of the manuscript, frontispiece. Codicological description of the manuscript: Ralph Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford, Using Material Collected by the late Jeremy Griffiths*. Oxford, 2002, pp. 329–331.

Ford (1999), 33.

The manuscript is bound last in a volume containing three Caxton editions of c. 1483: *Troylus and Creseyde*, Duff 94; the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, Duff 88; and the first edition of *Quattuor sermones*, Duff 299; uniform red ruling in all four items suggests that the volume was assembled at an early date.

Hanna quotes A.I. Doyle's suggestion that the scribe of the manuscript is 'possibly identical with the hand responsible for Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19, fols. 217–233, 247–251, and for Glasgow UL, MS Hunter U.3.5 (232), both with further Lydgate'. Another text included in the Trinity manuscript served as printer's copy for De Worde; see no. 31 below.

Bone offered many textual arguments indicating that the printed version was copied from the manuscript, not vice versa. He noted consistent modernization of spelling and vocabulary ('Consistency is creeping in'). He then described markings with marginal figures and letters which conform to the beginnings of pages in De Worde's quarto edition of the text. He concluded that the marks were made by compositors, and that this was irrefutable proof that the manuscript served as printer's copy. The text consists entirely of verse. Marginal lines and blind scratches indicate the line where a printed page begins, a letter scrawled in pencil indicates the beginning of each quire, and figures 1–16 correspond to the pages within the quires. The book is a quarto in eights. Simpson suggested that the work of two compositors may be distinguished by the way they marked up the copy, with the second, who marked pages with crosses instead of horizontal lines, taking over in quire k, which is the one but last quire. As with the printer's copy of *The fall of princes* used in Richard Pynson's printing house (no. 30 above), the fact that the text was in verse and therefore easy to cast off makes it difficult to decide which marks were made in preparation and which were made by the compositors after the setting of a page. Since the book is a quarto printed on full sheets, we can

be certain that it (and also the following item, *The assembly of gods*) was set non-seriatim. The imposition of quarto formes requires that pages be clearly identified. The marginal figures may have served this purpose, after they were first placed when the manuscript text was cast off in preparation for setting.

32. Printer's copy for: *The assembly of gods*. Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde, [1494?], 4⁰.
    ISTC il00405000, GW M19596, Duff 255, BMC XI, pp. 192–193.
    Exemplar: Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms R. 3. 19, ff. 68ʳ–97ᵛ.
    Described by Gavin Bone, 'Extant Manuscripts Printed from by W. de Worde with Notes on the Owner, Roger Thorney', *The Library*, 4th ser. (1932), pp. 284–305 (pp. 303–305). P. Simpson, *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1935); reprinted with an introduction by Harry Carter (London, 1970), p. 59.
    Ford (1999), 30.

Both Bone and Simpson state that the marks closely resemble those in the printer's copy for *The siege of Thebes* (no. 31 above). There can be little doubt that the two books were printed within a short period of time; BMC XI (pp. 192–194) notes for both books that the dating is not quite certain, and a slightly later date (1496?) cannot be ruled out. The copies of the two books in the British Library (C. 13. a. 21 (1–2)) were bound together at an early date.

33. Printer's copy for: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (translated by John Trevisa). Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde, [c. 1496], fol.
    ISTC ib00143000, GW 3414, Duff 40, BMC XI, pp. 200–202.
    Exemplar: Columbia University, New York, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton Ms 263
    Described by: R.W. Mitchner, 'Wynkyn de Worde's Use of the Plimpton Manuscript of De proprietatibus rerum', *The Library*, 5th ser. 6 (1951), pp. 7–18, with two plates.
    Ford (1999), 28.

Manuscript on vellum, written c. 1425 for Sir Thomas Chaworth of Wiverton, Nottinghamshire; two columns, with borders and decorated initials. Described and dated in the Digital Scriptorium database. It was owned by the Willoughby family, Nottinghamshire, at the time Wynkyn de Worde used it as printer's copy, and it must have been lent to the printer.

The structure of the printed book, with a first printer's device at the end of Book 11 (leaf 202ᵃ out of 478 leaves), indicates that copy was divided in two

for concurrent production. With Book 12, on (2)A1ᵃ, begins a new sequence of signatures, ending with Book 19, a list of authorities, a verse-epilogue entitled 'Prohemium', and the printer's device. For more details see BMC XI, p. 201.

The text was not prepared for printing by the insertion of corrections, but numerous corrections must have been introduced in the process of typesetting. There are changes in spelling and punctuation, modernisation of vocabulary by replacing archaic words, some abbreviation and expansion of the text, and occasionally changes in the meaning of the original. Mitchner gives many examples of this process. He also describes in detail (pp. 8–9) the compositors' marks, but since his observations were made at a time when 'setting by formes' had not yet been understood as a process, he ascribed different styles of annotation to different compositors, whereas they are now to be interpreted partly as successive actions—preparatory casting off and marks made by compositors after completion of the setting of pages.

Mitchner observed that some sections do not have compositors' marks, and suggested that these were not used due to the frailty of the manuscript in those places. This was confirmed in the text edition by M.C. Seymour etc., (Oxford, 1975–1988) vol. I, p. xi, specifying that for Book III, chapter 23, to Book VI, chapter 14, with the exception of Book V, chapter 39, De Worde used an unidentified source other than the Plimpton manuscript.

The printing house marks consist of sequences of Arabic figures written in pencil and corresponding to the pages in the quires of De Worde's edition. These seem to me to be the marks of preparatory casting off. Not described by Mitchell but observed by me when I all too briefly examined the manuscript are the blind acute-angled lines connecting two lines of manuscript at the spots where there is a transition of pages in print. Where the page-end in print does not coincide with the end of a line in the manuscript, the scratch is lengthened to circle delicately the final word(s) of the printed page. There are fine in-line dashes to indicate page-ends. These are all marks made by compositors as they proceeded. The beginning of a quire is not indicated with a letter, but with a curly squiggle, scratched blind. In other instances there are other blind marks at the beginning of quires. Since blind marks consistently seem to be made by compositors, this may perhaps be taken to be marks made by compositors after completion of the final page of the preceding quire; this is possibly an indication that they worked with quires as the unit of production, as could be established elsewhere with more evidence, for example, in the case of *Jason*, pp. 338–339, and *The book of St Albans*, pp. 404–408.

Deviations from casting off were occasionally marked by a second set of figures, in ink, and these include a few roman figures noticed by Mitchner. He

interprets an error in quire c, where space required for a woodcut at the beginning of Book III had initially not been accounted for (illustrated by Mitchner). The printed book has some traces of copy-fitting, e.g. instances of overrunning on b5ᵃ, d7ᵇ, f5ᵃ, g7ᵃ; more significantly, Mitchner notes in the second column of De Worde's d7ᵇ the omission of an eight-word phrase, three omissions of more than one word, three one-word omissions, and three elisions of e (e.g. in l. 13 the hour > thour). This can only be interpreted as a rather extreme case of copy-fitting, and evidence that this large folio book was set by formes.

34. Printer's copy for: *The book of hawking, hunting, fishing, and blasing of arms* (second edition). Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde, 1496, fol.
ISTC ib01031000, GW 4933, Duff 57, BMC XI, pp. 203–207.
Exemplar: BL, IB. 55712, part of a copy of the first edition, Press at St Albans, [not before 1486], fol.
ISTC ib01030000, GW 4932, Duff 56, BMC XI, pp. 304–306.
Described in BMC XI, pp. 204–205, following preliminary descriptions by George D. Painter (1963–1964) and Lotte Hellinga (1981, with illustration), and in the case study on pp. 395–409.
Ford (1999), 29.

The surviving printer's copy used by Wynkyn de Worde consists of three parts of the compilation as printed at St Albans: 'The book of hunting' (in verse), 'The book of coat armour', and 'The book of blasing of arms'. The printer's copy does not survive for 'The book of hawking' or for 'The treatise of fishing', which was a text added by De Worde.

In the printing-house markings three phases can be distinguished: editorial intervention (vocabulary, spelling), casting off before typesetting, and marks made by compositors after setting pages. A separate set of notes gives instructions about the design and colouring of the shields in 'The blasing of arms'.

Casting off was probably done quire by quire, each quire being completed before work proceeded to the following quire. Lines were counted, and the numbers of future pages within the quire were noted in the margins with very small Arabic figures in pale ink, running from 1 to 12. For the section in verse ('The book of hunting') and the short texts that followed it, 38 lines were counted off for each page. For the prose text of 'The book of coat armour', beginning on e6ᵃ, 38 to 39 lines were counted off for each page; for prose interspersed with illustrations in 'The blasing of arms' the number of lines per page was roughly estimated as 26 lines for a page with two large shields to 33–38 lines for a page with three small shields.

The marks made by the compositors closely resemble the marks made in the Plimpton manuscript (see no. 33 above), but were made with less discretion. When a compositor had completed the setting of a page, he would mark the changeover with an acute-angled sign scratched with drypoint, linking the last line of the completed page with the first line of the following page. When in the prose section the page break occurred within a line, the precise spot in the line would be marked in drypoint by drawing a 'box' consisting of three lines around the final words on the page as set, resembling the 'take over' mark in modern proofreading. The beginning of each quire is marked by a scratched squiggle.

Apart from the textual corrections marked as copy preparation, there must have been a general instruction to the compositors to adapt the language by replacing archaic and regional forms, for such changes were frequently made without previous marking in the exemplar, as also happened in the setting of the Bartholomeus Anglicus (see no. 33 above) and in Wynkyn de Worde's reprinting of Nicholas Love's translation of pseudo-Bonaventura, *Mediationes vitae Christi*, BMC XI, pp. 191–192; see the case study, pp. 372, 381–383.

35. Printer's copy for: Angelus Politianus, translation of *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, in: Censorinus, *De die natali* followed by five other short texts (8 leaves, e1ᵃ–f4ᵇ), edited by Philippus Beroaldus. Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris, 12 May 1497, fol.
ISTC ic00376000, GW 6471.
Exemplar: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms 766, fol. 309 sqq.
Described by Revilo P. Oliver, 'Era plagiario Poliziano nelle sua traduzione di Epitteto e di Erodiano?', in *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo: Atti del IV Convegno internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, Firenze, 1954* (Florence, 1957), pp. 253–271 (pp. 256–259).
Ford (1999), 31.

The manuscript was probably copied from a rough and hastily written autograph by Poliziano and is full of obvious errors, as set out by Oliver. There are many corrections in the hand of Beroaldus, apparently in preparation for printing. The corrector, however, also overlooked many errors.

The manuscript is marked up in the margins with figures corresponding precisely with the page divisions in the two relevant quires of the printed book (e–f⁴). Oliver (p. 157, n. 1) observed that other marginal figures deviate from the regular sequence, and hypothesised that another issue of the book was printed, saving the space of one page. In the light of other examples of printer's copy, and also because the text fits easily in the two quires, leaving blank space on

f4[b] before the following text begins on g1[a], it is more probable that these figures were written in two phases, first as casting off and later as marking the actual setting.

36. Printer's copy for: sections of Aristoteles, *Opera* in Greek, in 5 parts. Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495–1498, fol.

ISTC ia00959000, GW 2334.

Exemplaria:

Paris BnF, Ms suppl. gr. 212, *Historia animalium* (in pt. 2 up to fol. 117[v], incomplete);

Paris BnF, Ms gr. 1848, *Metaphysica*, written by Michael Apostoles (in pt. 4);

Cambridge, MA, Harvard College Library, Houghton Library, fMS Harv. gr. 17;

(i) fol. 38–45, *Ethica ad Nicomachum*, Book I only, written by Thomas Bitzimanos (in pt. 5, 1498);

(ii) fol. 54–138, Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum, De causis plantarum* (in pt. 4, 1497);

(iii) fol. 139–142, Porphyrius, *Isagoge*, fragment only (in pt. 1, 1495);

(iv) fol. 143–152, *Physiognomia* (in pt. 3, 1497);

(v) fol. 153[r–v], Pseudo-Aristotle, *De signis aquarum et ventorum*, fragment only (in pt. 3, 1497);

(vi) fol. 154–172, Pseudo-Galen, *Historia philosophorum* (in pt. 3, 1497).

According to Sicherl, items ii–vi are all written by the same anonymous scribe.

Described and illustrated by: Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben* (1997), pp. 31–113, Plate II. Previously in his *Handschriftliche Vorlagen der Editio princeps des Aristoteles* [Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes-und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 8] (Wiesbaden, 1976). With three illustrations. Wolfenbüttel catalogue (1978), no. 47, Abb. 48[b]. Two consecutive pages (122[v], 123[r]) of Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, in the Harvard manuscript are illustrated by Roger E. Stoddard, *Marks in Books* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), Plate 2. The complete manuscript Harv. fMS gr. 17 is digitized and freely available via the Houghton Library's website; it shows stains of printer's ink in all the sections used as printer's copy.

Ford (1999), 27.

Sicherl concluded that the manuscripts were commissioned by Aldus primarily for use in the printing house. Most were copied by Cretan scribes. Sicherl's study concentrated on the reconstruction of the derivation of Aldus's printer's copy from a great variety of sources, often from Florence, thus highlighting the truly immense scholarly effort that went into the preparation of his Aristotle

edition. In his introduction to *Griechische Erstausgaben* (1997) he explains that a few years after they had served as printer's copy, they were 'rescued' from the printing house by the Greek scholar Johannes Cuno, who worked with Aldus in 1504–1505 and settled in Basel in 1510. After his untimely death in 1513, the manuscript material came into the possession of his pupil Beatus Rhenanus, who bequeathed his books to Sélestat (Schlettstadt), his native city. Here the manuscripts used by Aldus were collected and bound with other material in several distinct groups which have no connection with the order in which they were printed. A substantial portion of them remained in Sélestat, in the town library, which is now known as the Bibliothèque Humaniste; others, via various learned collectors, ended up in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and finally there is the important assemblage of printer's copy presented to Harvard in 1938 which had for almost a century passed through the book trade and private collections.

Sicherl illustrated in *Griechische Erstausgaben* (1997) two pages of printer's copy, a page of BnF MS suppl. gr. 212 from Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* Book III, corresponding to the transition of leaf ccγγ10^{b} to ddδδ1^{a} in pt. 2 of Aldus's edition; the printer's copy has a large marginal compositor's mark 'ddp^{a}' and a strong horizontal line drawn through the text. The second illustration is a page of Harvard fMS gr. 17, from Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, which corresponds to Aldus's pt. 4, leaf cccγγγ 6^{b}/7^{a}, with in the margin the large compositor's mark 'c 13', with a large double cross (page 13 equals leaf 7^{a}). A smaller mark 'c 13' appears in the margin nine lines higher, with a short horizontal line drawn between the lines of script. This is presumably a casting off mark. In Stoddard's *Marks in Books* two compositor's marks 'p12' and 'p13', strong horizontal lines indicating page divisions, and inky fingerprints and stains leave no doubt that this was printer's copy, presumably marked by the same compositor working on this section of text as the one illustrated by Sicherl. See also above, Fig. 2.4A–B.

37. Printer's copy for: Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*, etc. (translated by Marsilio Ficino). Venice, Aldus Manutius, September 1497, fol.

ISTC ij00216000, GW M11750.

Exemplar: Paris, BnF, Ms Suppl. gr. 212.

Described and illustrated: Martin Sicherl, 'Druckmanuskripte der Platoniker-Übersetzungen Marsilio Ficinos', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 20 (1977), pp. 323–339, T. VII, illustrating fol. 203^{v} of the exemplar; also in Wolfen-büttel catalogue (1978), no. 48, Abb. 49, of 186^{v}, 211^{v}, with clear compositor's marks showing page divisions with horizontal line and vertical in-line stroke.

Manuscript on paper. According to Sicherl it is an autograph by Ficino; the *Archives et manuscrit*s database of the BnF states that some of the individual items in this composite volume were written by Manuel Gregoropoulos. Sicherl conjectures that Ficino himself prepared the compilation for printing, and that several distinct manuscripts served as printer's copy. He suggests that Hieronymus Blondus, in Florence, may have financed the edition.

38. Printer's copy for: Musaeus, *Opusculum de Herone et Leandro*, with a Latin translation. [Venice, Aldus Manutius, c. 1495–1498], 4⁰.

ISTC im00880000, GW M25737. For dating of the edition see the ISTC.

Exemplar for the Latin text: Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, MS 336.

Described and illustrated by: Martin Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben* (1997), pp. 11–30, Tafel I. He published an earlier version in *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 19 (1976), pp. 257–276, with plate. Wolfenbüttel catalogue (1978), no. 46, Abb. 47.

Ford (1999), 34.

Paper manuscript written in the hand of Aldus Manutius, quire of 10, originally 12 leaves with outer bifolium missing, preserved in a composite volume (K 930c) with manuscript and printed material.

Aldus printed the Greek text of this popular poem in 1494–1495, probably to be used as a primary text for students of Greek. The Latin translation was not produced at the same time, for the state of the type indicates that it was not printed before 1497 (ISTC). The printer's copy was written out by Aldus himself, 20 lines of Latin verse on each page of the manuscript corresponding with the 20 lines of Greek verse per page as printed. He thus produced a model for the structure of the book to be followed precisely by the compositors.

The Latin translation is usually ascribed to Aldus's editor Marcus Musurus, but Sicherl maintains that it was by Aldus himself. The manuscript page corresponding to leaf b7ᵇ which he illustrated, shows corrections which are authorial rather than editorial: in l. 5 the deletion of 'hominibus' in 'hominibus mortalibus', in l. 9 the substitution of 'aqua' for 'unda', obviously to avoid repetition, and in l. 16 the verbal form 'ostende' for 'ostenderis' and the substitution of 'intuens' for 'cognoscens'.

Marking of page breaks was superfluous in a model that had already divided the text up by pages. Instead, each page includes at the bottom an instruction in Italian for how to impose it, in order to produce half-sheets which could be interleaved with the printed Greek text, the Latin facing the corresponding lines in Greek. Aldus used the terms 'charta bianca' for the recto and 'charta volta' for the verso, e.g. 'in la 3ª forma charta bianca'. Nevertheless, the page

illustrated by Sicherl, which is a verso in the edition, has at the bottom the note: 'in la 5. for. ch. bian'. The intended arrangement was obviously not achieved at once, which is also evident in the Arabic figures clearly visible in the illustration of the manuscript: in the margin a large figure '14' which agrees with the position of the page if it is counted as b7 verso, a figure that also appears at the top of the page, where it is deleted and replaced by '16', which is the position of the page if the outer bifolium with the title-page is included in the count. Irregularity of the signatures of the Latin leaves confirms that there may have been some confusion. They were signed 'b' to distinguish them from the alpha sequence of the Greek text. In one BL copy (G. 8394) they run: 'b-c-biiii-v-bvi'; in the other copy (IA. 24385): 'b-biii-biiii-v-bvi'. The distribution of watermarks in the copies shows that these quarto leaves were printed on divided half-sheets.

39. Printer's copy for: Aristophanes, *Comoediae novem* with the scholia (ed. Marcus Musurus, Plutus only). Venice, Aldus Manutius, 15 July 1498, fol.
ISTC ia00958000, GW 2333, BMC V, p. 559.
Exemplar: Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, M 347.
Described and illustrated by: Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben* (1997), pp. 114–154 (125–133), Tafel IV. Also in Wolfenbüttel catalogue (1978), no. 49, Abb. 50a–b.
Ford (1999), 35.

The printer's copy for *Plutus*, the first of the nine comedies in the volume, is the only part to survive from a manuscript including at least six more comedies that was copied for the printer by Zacharias Callierges. Sicherl demonstrates that it was copied, probably in Venice or Padua, from the manuscript now in the Bodleian Library, Holkham Ms gr. 88. Musurus, the editor, used a manuscript now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (MS gr. 127) and a close relative of Laur. 31.15 as secondary sources for correction. Sicherl conjectures that the printer's copy originally included *Clouds*, *Frogs*, *Knights*, *Acharnians*, *Wasps*, and *Birds*; for *Peace* and *Women at Thesmophoria*, probably added later, another source or sources were used, and the printer states in his preliminary note with a dedication that he decided to omit *Lysistrata* for lack of a reliable manuscript.

Compositors marked the transition of pages with marginal letters and Arabic figures, horizontal lines, and in-text vertical strokes. Sicherl's illustration corresponds to 1a–b and the beginning of 2a. The first 10 lines of verse are marked by the compositor with a horizontal line and in the margin '*/a'; page 2a begins one line higher than marked and must have been adjusted, presumably when the scholia took up more space than initially estimated. From Sicherl's illustration it is not clear how the manuscript of the scholia relates to the print and how it

was cast off. The interlinear glosses in the manuscript were not included in the printed version.

40. Printer's copy for: *Epistolographici graeci* or *Epistolae diversorum philoso-phorum, oratorum, rhetorum* (ed. Marcus Musurus). Venice, Aldus Manutius, 29 March, 17 April, 1499, 4⁰.
ISTC ie00064000, GW 9367.
Exemplar: Paris, BnF, MS Suppl. gr. 924.
Described and illustrated by: Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben* (1997), pp. 155–290, Tafel V. Wolfenbüttel catalogue (1978), no. 50, Abb. 51ᵃ⁻ᵇ.
Ford (1999), 36.

A single quire with a letter by Philostratus is all that remains of the printer's copy. It was written by the Cretan bookbinder Paulos, who was active in Padua. Sicherl's illustration of the beginning of the letter shows a compositor's mark 'pᵃ', corresponding to 1ᵃ of the 22nd quire in the edition. Sicherl observed that the printer's copy does not include corrections which do appear in print and which may have been inserted in the proofreading phase.

Doubtful or Rejected

I. Printer's copy for: Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*. Venice, Johannes de Spira 1469, before 18 September, fol.
ISTC ip00786000, GW M34312.
Exemplar (?): Paris, BnF, Ms lat. 6805.
Ford (1999), 5.

Paper manuscript, belonging to an Italian tradition, second quarter of the fifteenth century, concisely described in the manuscript database of the BnF. Hermann Walter, 'Bericht zum Forschungsprojekt: Studien zur Handschriftenge-schichte der Naturalis Historia des Älteren Plinius: Ein Erfahrungsbericht', in *Zweiter Forschungsbericht der Universität Mannheim, 1978–1982*, pp. 227–239 (pp. 229–230), quoted by M.D. Reeve, 'The Editing of Pliny's Natural History', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, n.s. 2 (2007), pp. 107–179 (pp. 145, 170). Reeve relates that Walter argued on textual grounds that this manuscript was the chief source of De Spira's edition of 1469. Although it may well belong to the ancestry of the *princeps*, there seems to be no evidence in the form of printing-house mark-ings to show that it was actually used as printer's copy. Cf. F. Monfasani, 'The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Anto-

nio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's Natural History', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41 (1988), pp. 1–31, which includes a discussion of the editing done in preparation for the editions by De Spira and by Sweynheym and Pannartz.

II. Printer's copy for: John Gower, *Confessio amantis*. Westminster, William Caxton, 2 September 1483, fol.
ISTC ig00329000, Duff 166, GW 10976, BMC XI, pp. 142–143.
Exemplar (?): Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 213.
Ford (1999), p. 125.

Manuscript on vellum, large format, fifteenth century. Gavin Bone in *The Library*, 4th ser. 12 (1932), pp. 285–286, discussed the crosses and circles which in some short sequences in the manuscript coincide with the beginnings of pages or columns in Caxton's edition. The first five books of the version in the manuscript are textually very close to Caxton's version, which includes, however, lines which are not present in the manuscript. Bone left the question undecided. N.F. Blake, however, noted more textual divergence, and judged that Caxton's edition did not derive directly from the manuscript; see N.F. Blake, 'Caxton's Copytext of Gower's *Confessio amantis*', *Anglia*, 85 (1967), pp. 282–293, reprinted in his *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London, 1991), pp. 187–198.

III. Printer's copy for: *Itinerarium Beatae Virginis Mariae* [Basel], Lienhart Ysenhut [about 1489], 8⁰.
ISTC ii00219000, GW M15411.
The edition was erroneously recorded as in-4⁰ by Goff, followed by ISTC and Bod-inc.
Exemplar (?): Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Handschrift FP VII2 7: 1. There is no published description of this manuscript.

Pierre L. van der Haegen, *Basler Wiegendrucke* (Basel, 1998) vol. I, 25.2, argued that the manuscript, which had formerly belonged to the Basel Charterhouse, was the exemplar for this edition. Although he quotes as evidence that strips with a printed title on leaf 8ᵇ of all three copies of Ysenhut's edition in the Basel UB conform to the rubric in the manuscript, this appears to me to be an indication that the manuscript was used for comparison after printing of the edition was completed. This is also suggested by the manuscript note 'Correctum ex originali' in one of these copies. There is, however, no doubt that the Carthusians had a role in the production of this edition, and they may have commissioned it. Eric M. White, 'Three Books Donated by Adolf Rusch

to the Carthusians at Basel', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 2006*, pp. 231–235, mentions Ysenhut's gift of copies of his Latin and German editions of his *Itinerarium* to the Carthusians in Basel (28 copies in all), and assumes that this was out of gratitude for the use of the manuscript. Examination of digital images of the manuscript shows no trace at all of use in a printing house; on this basis the conclusion has to be that it was not used as printer's copy. I am grateful to Dr Ueli Dill at the Basel UB for help in procuring a digital reproduction of the manuscript.

IV. Printer's copy for: *Promptorium puerorum, sive Medulla grammatice*. London, Richard Pynson (for Frederick Egmondt and Petrus post Pascham), 15 May 1499, fol.
ISTC ip01011000, Duff 352, GW 10483, BMC XI, pp. 291–292.
Exemplar (?): two vellum fragments, binder's waste, Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library, 321.7.71.
Ford (1999), p. 125.

The fragments, which came from a binding (not before 1539) by the well-known Cambridge binder Godfrey, show a layout and content which are close to Pynson's edition. Since the margins are cut down, it is impossible to ascertain whether the original book had been marked up by compositors, and the issue has to be inconclusive. See Linda Voigts and Frank Stubbings, 'Promptorium parvulorum: Manuscript Fragments at Emmanuel College and Their Relation to Pynson's Editio Princeps', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1989), pp. 358–371, with 2 plates.

V. Printer's copy for: Matteo Maria Boiardo, *Sonetti e canzoni* (with additions by Bartholomaeus Crottus). Reggio Emilia, Franciscus de Mazalibus, 19 December 1499, 4^0.
ISTC ib00831000, GW 4611.
Exemplar (?): Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Ital. 47.
Described by: Paolo Trovato, 'Per un censimento dei manoscritti di tipografia in volgare (1470–1600)', in Marco Santagata and Amadeo Quondam (eds.), *Il libro de poesia dal copista al tipografo* (Modena, 1989), pp. 43–55 (p. 51).
Ford (1999), 37.

Trovato is not convinced by the designation of Boiardo's editor (Mengaldo, 1962) of this manuscript as printer's copy. The manuscript has some corrections, e.g. word division, which are generally not followed in the printed version.

Proofreading and Printing in Mainz in 1459

Among the earliest monumental works to come from the printing presses in Mainz is the edition of Gulielmus Duranti, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, published by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer with the date 6 October 1459.[1] Its publication followed immediately the second of their two Psalter editions, the *Psalterium Benedictinum*, which was completed a good five weeks earlier, on 29 August.[2] The production of the *Rationale*, a book of 160 large-folio leaves, must have started well before that of the Psalter of 1459 was finished.

The *Rationale* was an extensive and much-used handbook on the rituals of the mass and their symbolism, written by Gulielmus Duranti between 1285 and 1291. Duranti was one of the learned men of his age, an ecclesiastical administrator and a renowned liturgist who also taught in Bologna and Modena before he became bishop of Mende.[3] He died in 1296. His *Rationale* was an explanatory work but was also prescriptive, and the impetus for its early publication in print may have been to promote unity in the observance of the liturgy, as has been surmised for the major Mainz printing enterprises which preceded the *Rationale*: the first Bible (c. 1455), the two Psalters (1457 and 1459), and the Canon Missae (c. 1458).[4] The general demand for the *Rationale* is evident from

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1　GW 9101; ISTC id00403000. Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445–1467)* [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft VIII–IX] (Mainz, 1911), no. 65. The copies discussed in the present study are nos. 65.1, 65.2, and 65.26 in De Ricci's census.

2　GW M36286, ISTC ip01062000; De Ricci (*Mayence*) no. 55.

3　Duranti's name is also found as Durand, Durandi, and Durandus. Instead of preferring any of these forms I have referred in this study to the text as 'the *Rationale*', although in incunabulists' parlance the Mainz edition is commonly 'the *Durandus*'.

4　This was first mooted by Eberhard König in his studies of the dissemination of the Gutenberg Bible, 'Möglichkeiten kunstgeschichtlicher Beiträge zur Gutenberg-Forschung', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1984*, pp. 82–102 (pp. 98 sqq.), where he discussed the possibility that the reform movement in Benedictine abbeys in southern Germany, notably Melk, stimulated the beginning of printing. Similarly, he considered the influence of the monastic reform of the Bursfeld congregation and its requirements for unified liturgy and refectory reading in his 'New Perspectives on the History of Mainz Printing', in Sandra Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 143–173 (pp. 149–157).

the fact that in the fifteenth century alone it was reprinted at least 43 times,[5] and reprints continued until early in the seventeenth century. The Mainz edition of 1459 is the first time the medium of print was used for the publication of what we would call a reference work. The printers introduced for its production a new fount of type that was much smaller than the founts used for the Bible, the Psalters, and the Canon Missae,[6] but its dimensions were close to those of the founts used for the Mainz indulgences, ascribed to Gutenberg's press.[7] Even with the new economical type, the work occupied 317 pages of large-folio format; all known copies were printed on vellum, with the size of the sheets the equivalent of Royal folio paper, and all copies were printed in two columns, usually 63 lines long.[8] ISTC records no fewer than 53 more or less complete copies of this book (more than the number that survive of the Gutenberg Bible), as well as a considerable number of collections which own only one or a few leaves. It has long been noted that there is a great deal of variation between the copies, in particular the presence or absence of two-colour initials and red-printed Lombard initials. There are copies where the large initials are completely absent and spaces were left open for painting in initials. Some of these spaces are larger than those required for the printed initials, which led to some resetting. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* listed a few examples of the resulting variants, without attempting to describe in full the features of each individual copy.

The exception that stands out among the copies of this spectacular book is the copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (from here on 'BSB') in Munich which, unlike all other known copies, is printed on paper.[9] It is not surprising that it has always been recorded as a copy of the edition. Like the vellum copies it consists of 160 leaves, and at first sight its most striking feature is likewise the presence of initials printed in red and blue along with the red Lombards which Fust and Schoeffer had previously used in the Psalters and in the Canon Missae. The volume is bound in a heavy, blind-stamped pigskin binding, made by a binder who is known to have been active in Mainz between

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5   GW 9102–9144.

6   Fust and Schoeffer Type 3: 91G.

7   The sizes of the two short-lived founts of the Mainz indulgences (GW 6555–6556. ISTC ic00422400, –ic00422600) were, respectively, 90 mm and 96 mm for 20 lines, both approximate measurements, since all copies were printed on vellum with variable shrinkage.

8   Of the 320 pages, three are blank.

9   BSB-Ink D-324, shelf mark 2Inc. c. a. 2. A digital version of the BSB copy (or document) is freely available online, conveniently accessible via ISTC id00403000, which also provides a link to the digitised images of the vellum copy at the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève in Paris.

1459 and c. 1470.[10] It is rubricated throughout, the number of the books written in large roman numerals on the recto pages, and a large letter L for 'Liber' on the facing versos. The rubricator added alternating red and blue paragraph marks, except on the few pages where the paragraph marks are printed in red; Lombard initials and captions are supplied in manuscript in red where they are not printed. Each capital is marked with a red line. Moreover, the volume is heavily annotated throughout in a contemporary hand, writing in thick, red ink, the elegant drawing of a hand occasionally pointing out passages.

The volume does not have ownership inscriptions but is known to have belonged to the St Martin's cathedral in Mainz until the end of the eighteenth century, when together with other books it was removed to Aschaffenburg to keep the works out of the hands of the invading French. In 1824 these books were transferred to the Hofbibliothek in Munich.[11] In all these traces of early use the volume resembles the many books from the presses of Fust and Schoeffer that survive. But it also has features which lead to the understanding that this was, strictly speaking, not a 'copy' of the book in bibliographical terms, which is defined as part of an 'edition' issued by the printers. The most immediately visible of these features is that out of the 317 printed pages the volume includes 46 pages with marks which anyone who has ever corrected proofs will recognise as proof corrections. There are pages with very few such marks; others have as many as 30.[12] Further scrutiny and extensive comparison with the two vellum copies of the book in the British Library reveal that in addition there are also at least 13 pages where the version printed on paper shows an earlier state than the vellum copies: textual corrections were introduced, ranging in size from adding part of a word to inserting two lines of text, with some of these changes unmarked on the paper leaves. Another significant feature is that the structure

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10   Lotte Hellinga, 'Peter Schoeffer and the Book-Trade in Mainz: Evidence for the Organi-zation', in Dennis E. Rhodes (ed.), *Bookbindings & Other Bibliophily: Essays in Honour of Anthony Hobson* (Verona, 1994), pp. 131–183 (pp. 138–139). The unfortunate designation of this binding as 'Butzbach' in the Schwenke-Schunke collection of rubbings was taken over in the copy description in BSB-Ink D-324.

11   De Ricci (*Mayence*) 65. 26, BSB-Ink D-324, B[ettina] W[agner], in *Als die Lettern laufen lernten: Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 2009), no. 38, p. 113, and with an illustration in colour of fol. [s]7^b with typographical corrections.

12   Proof corrections are marked on pages [a]3^b, [a]4^a, [a]5^a, [a]7^a (a single line to separate words in col. b, l. 14), [a]7^b, [a]8^a, [a]10^b, [b]2^b, [c]7^b, [d]8^a, [e]4^b, [f]3^a, [f]6^b, [f]9^a, [g]2^a (col. a, l. 21, a single line indicating word separation), [g]5^b, [g]6^a, [g]6^b, [g]7^a, [g]7^b, [h]1^a, [i]1^a, [i]6^a, [i]6^b, [k]3^b, [k]4^a, [k]4^b, [k]5^b, [l]1^a, [l]1^b, [l]3^b, [l]5^a, [l]5^b, [l]7^a, [l]9^a, [m]1^b, [m]5^a, [n]1^a, [o]5^a, [p]7^a, [q]6^a, [r]1^a, [r]4^b, [s]2^b, [s]7^b, [s]9^b.

FIG. 4.1   *The opening page of the* Rationale *with the two-colour initial Q. This page has many annotations by the first user. Between the columns the flourishes of the initial P shown in Fig. 6 are visible, due to its strong impression. Munich* BSB, *Ink-324, fol.* [a]1ᵃ *(reduced).*

of the BSB volume deviates from that of the vellum copies, which in this respect seem to be entirely uniform. Within the structure of the quires, which is the same as that of the vellum copies, there are 16 singleton leaves attached to stubs.[13]

With these features it becomes clear that the volume is a collection of sheets and some half-sheets, almost a fifth of which can be recognised as proofs—not representing the edition as completed by the printers, but foreshadowing, as it were, the book by showing stages of its production. The volume itself includes a further feature that may suggest an explanation for why this unusual document may have been assembled. Bound at the end is a manuscript consisting of six vellum leaves with the title 'Registru*m* sup*er* Rationale diui*norum* offi-tio*rum* pri*mo* rubricatu*m* *par*ticulariter s*ecundum* ordine*m* alphabeti deinde s*ecundum* distinctionem capituloru*m* quar*um*lib*et* *par*tium. Sequitur s*ecun*-d*um* ordine*m* alphabeti'.[14] It is an alphabetical index of the contents of the work with references to the leaves of the printed book in the sequence 1–158, followed by a table of the contents in the order in which the distinct rubrics appear, again with reference to leaves.[15] The Tabula, which is written in a contemporary hand and rubricated, is incomplete, for it breaks off in the middle of Book V (leaf 75). Its neat and clean appearance leaves no doubt that it was copied from a draft once the work of compilation was completed. In the alphabetical index a few entries were inserted later in the same hand.

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13   The singleton leaves (followed by the modern foliation in the BSB-document) are: [c]3 (23), [c]8 (28), [d]4 (34), [d]5 (35), [f]4 (52), [f]7 (vellum, 55), [g]6 (64), [i]4 (71), [i]5 (72), [m]5 (96), [m]6 (97), [n]3 (104), [n]8 (109), [r]4 (143), [r]5 (144), [s]11 (160). The cancel stubs of leaves [g]6—visible between leaves [g]1 and 2—and [r]5 show some remains of proof corrections. Three of the singleton leaves include proof corrections: [g]6, [m]5, and [r]4. Two sheets and a half-sheet are printed on vellum: [a]2/9, [s]5/6, and [f]7.

14   Contractions expanded, in italics.

15   The rubrics are the sections of text marked by headings, or captions, for which the term 'rubric' is also used. The alphabetical table of contents is based on an analysis of the text that goes far beyond an alphabetical index of the rubrics. A number of entries (increasing as the index progresses) do not have a leaf reference (e.g. Kathezizatio, Kiriaca, Lazarus). The leaf references in the index and table of rubrics indicate the recto *and* the verso of leaves—for example, the rubric indexed as 'De altari 3' begins on fol. 3ᵇ. An apparent anomaly are a few references to leaf '191'; by checking the actual location of 'Penthecostes' (on leaf 131ᵃ) and 'Mons de quo dñs ascendit' (leaf 132ᵃ), both marked as '191', this turns out to be a scribal error for '131'. In the BSB-document the leaves are not numbered, but all rubrics are printed in red or written in red ink in the form in which they also appear in the vellum copies.

Therefore, the volume consisting of paper sheets and half-sheets in the BSB (and two and a half vellum sheets) seems to have begun as a collection of proofs which an early user and annotator treated as if it were a 'book', a copy of an edition.[16] In its nature it is therefore a thoroughly ambiguous object, and I propose to express this by referring to it from here on not as a 'copy' but as 'the BSB-document'. Not only is this distinction bibliographically correct, the term seems appropriate, as we shall see that this assembly of sheets witnesses several stages of correction and revision made during the process of setting the text in type.

Analysis of extensive samples of the proofs will show that the proof leaves, marked and unmarked, represent more than one stage of the production process. With this insight, as well as the presence of the index, tabula, and the rich annotation, and what is known of its early ownership, we may begin to build up an image of a course of events: Was this 'copy' scrabbled together by the printers for the benefit of someone—most likely a cleric—connected with the cathedral in Mainz? The recipient of such a frugal favour was to use it as a working copy, for annotating the work and perhaps for drafting the index and the table of contents, indicating subjects and keywords and noting related subjects. His notes show him to be thoroughly familiar with the subject matter, but there is no obvious relation between his notes and the alphabetical index.

The uniformity of the rubrics as listed in the manuscript Tabula with those written in the complete vellum copies strongly suggests that the rubricator (who is distinct from the annotator and must have worked before him) may have had access to a list of rubrics, such as survives for the Gutenberg Bible and several later Bible editions.[17] The Tabula, the second part of the manuscript in

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16 Bettina Wagner mooted the possibility that the BSB volume preceded the final printing of the *Rationale* in her entry on the Duranti in the BSB exhibition catalogue *Als die Lettern laufen lernten: Medienwandel im 15. Jarhundert*, no. 38: '... the text has been carefully proof-read and contains numerous handwritten corrections. This suggests that the copy was a test print produced on paper to reduce the costs'. This interpretation fails to observe that the document represents more than one phase of proofing and production.

17 The two extant copies of the Tabula rubricarum of the Gutenberg Bible are described by Wieland Schmidt, 'Zur Tabula Rubricarum', in Wieland Schmidt and Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller (eds.), *Johannes Gutenberg's zweiundvierzigzeilige Bibel. Kommentarband* (Munich, 1979), pp. 179–183, with a facsimile of the copy in the BSB, Cim. 63a. Gerhardt Powitz greatly contributed to understanding the rubricators' practices in the B42 and other early Bible editions in Mainz, Bamberg, Basel, and Strasbourg in his study 'Die Tabula Rubricarum der Gutenberg-Bibel' in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 2012*, pp. 31–52. See also Paul Needham's note 'The Text of the Rubric Table', in his 'A Gutenberg Bible Used as Printer's Copy by Heinrich Eggestein in Strassburg, ca. 1469', *Transactions of the*

the BSB-document, virtually has that function, with leaf-references in addition. The BSB-document is not foliated, but its leaves correspond exactly to those in a completed book, albeit before the correction cycles and in different stages of production. The compiler of the index and the Tabula, whether or not he is the same as the anonymous recipient/first owner who used the document so intensely, may therefore have had a connection with the printing house. There may well be justification in thinking that the printers did the first user a favour. Further scrutiny of the proofs will reveal more about the procedures in the printing house.

Early Proofs

Proof sheets are normally strictly intended for internal use in the printing house. They are extreme examples of ephemeral printing, destined to be of use only for a quick inspection, or at most as long as it takes to carry a report on the status quo of the typesetting of a text to a corrector, to be returned with the corrector's markings, his messages to the compositors. When the tasks required by the corrector were completed, the proofs were discarded, usually to disappear completely, or occasionally to be used by binders as waste material that might turn up centuries later. A few marked-up sheets are found in otherwise complete copies of early Mainz printing, when apparently some finished sheets had run out. Even more exceptionally, they might serve other useful purposes. Parcels of type in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, for example, can be found wrapped in solid eighteenth-century paper with marked-up proofs of liturgical works.

All proofs pulled during the production process were to present an image of a status quo—and many served this function without being marked up by a corrector. Even for the earliest decades of printing a considerable number of such unmarked proofs (or trial pulls) have survived, a number swelled by two extraordinary documents—the assembly of proofs for the Fust and Schoeffer edition of Duranti's *Rationale* of 1459, the subject of the present study; and the complete set of proofs of Mentelin's Latin Bible of 1460, investigated by Paul Needham.[18]

Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 9 (1986), pp. 36–75 (pp. 71–72); Brigitte Pfeil, 'Ein weiteres Fragment des 'Registrum rubricarum' der 36 zeiligen Bibel' in *Digitale Bibliothek Thüringen*, 08.06.2010.

18   Paul Needham, 'The Cambridge Proof Sheets of Mentelin's Latin Bible', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1986), pp. 1–35.

Other spectacular instances from the early period consist of fragments and snippets. The undisputed earliest are proofs for the Gutenberg Bible (or B42). Briefly, the most unambiguous instances of trial pulls for the Gutenberg Bible are fragments of two waste sheets in which the orientation and text of recto and verso do not match. They were brought to light in 1990 in a binding in the State Archive in Koblenz by Christina Meckelnborg.[19] Other proof sheets of the Gutenberg Bible survived intact: two leaves with otherwise unknown variant settings are in the Bischöfliche Priesterseminar in Trier, found in the binding of Bonifacius VIII, *Liber Sextus Decretalium*, Fust and Schoeffer, 1465;[20] two conjugate leaves in the Lilly Library in Bloomington also have variant settings, indicating that they belong to a preprint trial pull.[21] Of a rather different nature is the collection of five fragments, the remains of which were found together in the Bibliotheca Jagellonica in Krakow. They were all printed in the fount known as 'the type of the 36-line Bible' and consist of a leaf of a Latin Bible which was probably a preliminary (pre-production) trial for what became the 36-line Bible, a trial pull of the 'Astronomical calendar' or *Ephemerides*, and three trial leaves for a Donatus. Detailed typographical argumentation led to dating these trials to c. 1458. The excellent plates illustrating Carl Wehmer's extensive study of this small collection show that they are very roughly printed, with heavily impressed blind quads in the margins and in the Bible fragment between the columns.[22] Spectacular in terms of bibliographical evidence are the trial proofs for the Mainz *Catholicon*, surviving as strips of vellum printed on one side; they were used not before 1468 by a binder in Cologne (Kyriss 100) in a volume now in Frankfurt a. M., Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, and in another volume bound by the same binder not before 1470, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.[23] Two fragments of the *Catholicon*, printed on one side on

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19   The leaves in Koblenz and the following two instances are extensively discussed by Christina Meckelnborg, 'Makulaturblätter der 42-zeiligen Gutenbergbibel', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1991*, pp. 86–100, and ead., 'Ein Probedruck der zweiundvierzigzeiligen Gutenbergbibel in einer Koblenzer Handschrift', in Holger Nickel and Lothar Gillner (eds.), *Johannes Gutenberg—Regionale Aspekte des frühen Buchdrucks* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 100–108.

20   GW 4848, ISTC ib00976000.

21   The leaf in the Lilly library is discussed in the exhibition catalogue *The First Twenty-Five Years of Printing 1455–1480* (Bloomington, IN, 1967), no. 2, as well as by Meckelnborg.

22   Carl Wehmer, *Mainzer Probedrucke in der Type des sogenannten Astronomischen Kalenders für 1448* (Munich, 1948). For further references, see ISTC ib00526500, ip00749500, and id00314650.

23   Lotte Hellinga, 'Analytical Bibliography and the Study of Early Printed Books with a Case-Study of the Mainz Catholicon', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1989*, pp. 47–96 (pp. 86–87).

Galliziani paper, were found in the contemporary binding on a copy of the Schoeffer edition of Thomas Aquinas, *Super quarto libro Sententiarum* (1469) in the Stadtbibliothek in Braunschweig.[24]

Another essay in the present collection surveys the introduction of the two-pull press.[25] Since its introduction immediately influenced several practices in the printing houses, among them the procedures for making up formes and pulling trials, we must set a time limit for considering proofs 'early', that is, generally speaking, the late-1470s. Some surviving proofs from the printing house of Günther Zainer in Augsburg fall within this limit. The earliest are leaves, both printed on one side, one a proof for Rodericus Zamorensis, *Speculum vitae humanae*, with the date 11 January 1471, and the other for Ovidius, *De remedio amoris*, of the same year, both in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.[26] Leaves in seven different collections, all printed on one side and therefore obviously trial pulls, are all that remains of a Jacobus de Theramo, *Processus Belial*, c. 1472, an edition that may never have materialised, since no copy is known.[27]

Proofs may represent different phases of the production process: in distinct phases of the process the focus might be on layout, on textual accuracy, or on typographical finesse in order to meet the standards required for a particular piece of printing. Unmarked trial pulls require comparison with one or more finished copies of the book as issued by the printing house to reveal whether any changes were made following the trial; several of the examples listed above have given rise to extensive studies, highlighting how difficult it is to assess what moment in the production they may allow us to glimpse.

Marked-up proofs of the early period are much rarer. They have in common that they give an immediate insight into what mattered enough for the corrector to interfere and demand some improvement. Fortunately, a large proportion

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24   Gotfried Zedler, *Das Mainzer Catholicon* [Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 1] (Mainz, 1905), p. 46, and L. Hellinga, see note 23 above.

25   'Press and Text in the First Decades of Printing', pp. 8–36.

26   BSB-Ink S-59 and O-108. See Ernst Freys, 'Makulatur aus der Presse Günther Zainers', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1944/49*, pp. 94–96.

27   ISTC ij00064500, GW M11042. Freys, see n. 26 above, and M. von Hase, 'Zwei Probedrucke des Lateinischen Belials von Jacobus de Theramo des Augsburger Druckers Günther Zainer im Spielkartenmuseum Leinfelden', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1968*, pp. 106–109. David Rogers discussed trial pulls for three books printed by Zainer in the years 1474–1476, all printed on one side, 'A Glimpse into Günther Zainer's Workshop at Augsburg, c. 1475', in Lotte Hellinga and Helmar Härtel (eds.), *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert /Book and Text in the Fifteenth Century* (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 145–163.

of them have survived as sheets, not as fragments. The earliest specimens that have come to light are the marked-up leaves for the Duranti of 1459 in the BSB-document, and two leaves with corrector's marks among the proofs for the Mentelin Bible of c. 1460.[28] Several other marked-up proofs emanate from the Fust and Schoeffer printing house and were used to make up copies. Paul Needham noted a proof sheet with many correction marks in the paper copy of their 1462 Bible in the H.E. Huntington Library.[29] Similarly, two marked-up vellum leaves are found in a copy, held by the John Rylands University Library, of Bonifacius VIII, *Liber sextus Decretalium*, published by Fust and Schoeffer in 1465.[30] Later, marked-up proofs for Mainz printing survived as binder's waste: a fragment of a proof of Peter Schoeffer's Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, of 1473 was found as a paste-down in the binding of another Schoeffer edition, Paulus de St Maria, *Scrutinium scripturarum*, in Giessen UB. When the paste-down was detached it turned out that the verso, also marked, was a pull from a page which was unrelated, and not its verso in the printed book.[31] The binding on a copy of the *Catholicon* ('Tower and Crown' issue) in the Chapter Library in Gniezno contained a marked-up proof leaf, printed on one side, of the Schoeffer edition of Justinianus, *Codex*, of 26 January 1475.[32] Recently, Randall Herz has discussed and illustrated a marked-up proof sheet of early Nuremberg printing, along with some proofs dating from later in the century. The early proof, for Gregorius I, *Moralia in Job*, Johann Sensenschmidt, 1471, comes from a binding in Erlangen UB. The illustrations show that there are some differences between Mainz and Nuremberg (or the individual correctors) in the conventions for marking corrections.[33]

Amid the sporadic remnants of marked-up proofreading in the earliest years of printing, the collection of 46 marked-up proof pages (plus the pages showing

28   Needham, 'Mentelin's Latin Bible' (see n. 18 above).

29   Goff B-529. See: Paul Needham, 'The 1462 Mainz Bible of Johann Fust and Peter Schöffer (GW 4204): A Survey of Its Variants', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 2006*, pp. 19–49 (p. 42).

30   GW 4848, JRL 9001, leaves [b]4/7; L. Hellinga, 'The Rylands Incunabula: An International Perspective', *Bulletin du bibliophile* (1989), pp. 34–52 (p. 47), Fig. 3. (In this illustration the markings are barely visible.)

31   Discussed and illustrated by H. Knaus, 'Über Verlegereinbände bei Schöffer', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1938*, pp. 97–108. The two sides of the proof leaf are pp. 339 recto and 353 verso, or N4 recto and O8 verso.

32   Brought to light and illustrated by Carl Wehmer, 'Ein frühes Korrekturblatt aus der Schöfferschen Offizin', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1932*, pp. 118–122.

33   GW 11429, ISTC ig00427000. See Randall Herz, 'Three Fifteenth Century Proof Sheets with Manuscript Corrections from Nuremberg Presses', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 2011*, pp. 56–76.

textual corrections) for Duranti's *Rationale* of 1459 at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is all the more remarkable for the sheer quantity of the material, as well as the opportunity it offers for analysis of the procedures underlying the production of a book in the earliest years of printing.

I first undertook a study of the *Rationale* in the BSB once I had understood in 1983–1984 (with a shock of recognition) that marks in the volume are proof corrections. It was clear that they would require comparison with completed copies of the *Rationale*, of which there are two in the British Library but none in Munich. At the time, any attempts at systematic comparison were limited by logistics. My colleagues in Munich generously provided me with excellent black-and-white prints of about a dozen selected pages. These I used for surveying the corrector's marks and the effect they had on the definitive printing.[34] Nevertheless, I was aware that a study with this slim basis was necessarily preliminary, and that as long as the physical objects were far apart, it would not be possible to address questions regarding what the document might reveal about the stages and order of the procedures in the printing house, or to investigate the production of these leaves in relation to each other. Even the preliminary study indicated that any answers would be complex. It also suggested that it might provide insights that could not be obtained through any other early document of the period.

Since the spring of 2009 the situation has changed. In a digitisation programme of incunabula, carried out at the BSB with the support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the complete document has become available for downloading in high-resolution colour images. At last the full set of proofs could be confronted (on the screen of a laptop) with the two copies in the British Library.

The Study

Comparing the digitised images with the two copies in the British Library had new limitations, but these were vastly outweighed by the advantage of unlimited access to the images, which could even be enlarged at a click of a button. Among the obvious drawbacks is the fact that it is impossible to see the watermarks, but Paul Needham had identified the paper in the BSB-document

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34   Published with illustrations as Lotte Hellinga, 'Proof-reading in 1459: The Munich Copy of Guillelmus Duranti, Rationale', in Hans Limburg etc. (eds.), *Ars impressoria*: *Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchdrucks. Eine internationale Festgabe für Severin Corsten zum 65. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1986), pp. 183–202.

as belonging to stocks of the Gutenberg Bible, and he surmised that they were 'leftover papers from the printing of the Bible four to six years earlier'.[35]

In an edition in-folio, as the *Rationale* is, watermarks serve to ascertain whether leaves are conjugate. This can only be verified on the original document, but the digital images clearly show cancel stubs. Dr Bettina Wagner has very kindly verified their positions for me.[36] In the digital images the distinction between red printing and the writing in red ink occasionally becomes uncertain, especially where red printing is touched up in red rubricator's ink, because the difference in texture of the two pigments cannot be observed in a flat, digital image. It was not possible to observe pinholes, nor was it possible to see (with one exception) the marks left by a strong impression. I have therefore focused my study on what can be observed by comparing the digital images with the two copies of the *Rationale* in the British Library: the correction procedures and colour printing. Finally, this led to some conclusions regarding how the volume of proofs was assembled in the printing house.

In practice the study divided itself into distinct areas to concentrate on, each one a different aspect of the tasks of the compositors, correctors, and printers:

- textual correction, marked and occasionally not marked, which in several instances required resetting;
- typographical correction, spacing, damaged types, turned types, alignment, etc., which sometimes led to minor textual corrections;
- colour printing, the red printing of Lombard initials, captions and paragraph marks, and the two-colour initials.

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35 Needham, 'Mentelin's Latin Bible', see above n. 18, p. 13, and n. 20: 'Most of the stocks and states of the Gutenberg Bible's papers are represented in the Durandus proofs, and the proofs use no paper that had not already appeared in the Gutenberg Bible'. Needham recorded the distribution of the watermarks in the Mentelin proofs by which he could establish their order of printing. For the more irregular assemblage of the proofs of the *Rationale* this may be less relevant, although it might confirm the concurrent production of the two halves of the work.

36 I am most grateful to Dr Wagner for verifying for me a few points I could not with certainty observe on the digitised version. She established that in quire [g], leaf [g]6 must be the inserted leaf, a cancel stub showing between leaves [g]1 and [g]2. In quire [s] it is not possible to be sure which of the two final leaves of the book is the inserted singleton, since they were repaired at a later date. A stub shows between the first and second leaves of the quire (as it does in the BL copy C.14.e.6).

Preliminaries

The collation of the completed volumes is recorded in GW 9101 as:

[a–c^{10} d^8 e–f^{10} g$^{8-1}$ h^2; i^8 k^6; l–p^{10} q^8; r^8 s^{10+1}]. 160 leaves.

There are a few general points to note before proceeding with the specifics of the study.

The analysis of colour printing in the *Rationale* (see below) provides evidence that two halves of the book were produced concurrently; copy was divided into two almost equal parts, beginning, respectively, at quire [a]^{10} and quire [l]^{10}, coinciding with the textual division between Liber V and Liber VI. The structure of the quires indicates that a further division took place in the first half of the work between quires [h]^2 and [i]^8, where Liber V begins, and between quires [q]^8 and [r]^8, the beginning of Liber VII. These divisions probably occurred later, for the red printing does not indicate that these two sections of 14 and 19 leaves, respectively, were set and printed at the beginning of the production of the book. It is not unusual to see such divisions towards the end of larger sections, which helped to speed up completion of the volume. These two secondary divisions also suggest that the production of the two original halves kept a fairly even pace.

As noted above, the quires of the BSB-document mirror those of the completed copies, but within the quires the structure is complicated by many leaves being singletons, more than half of which can easily be recognised, as they are attached to stubs. In my 1986 publication I published a collation formula expressing the structure peculiar to the document on the basis of my own observations, later confirmed by Paul Needham. Its presentation now requires modification. Renewed study has convinced me that the whole volume is a collection of proofs, and that the status of the singleton leaves has to be reconsidered.

The BSB catalogue[37] considered the singleton leaves as missing their conjugate halves, and marked the missing halves as 'minus'. It expressed this as:

[a–b^{10} c$^{12-2}$ d$^{10-2}$ e–f^{10} g$^{8-1}$ h^2; i$^{10-2}$ k^6 l^{10} m–n$^{12-2}$ o–p^{10} q^8 r$^{12-2}$ s$^{12-1}$]. 160 leaves.

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37   BSB-Ink D-324.

Of course there was a time when the singleton leaves were part of a sheet; the BSB formula does not indicate which leaves within the quires are singletons, and by implication, which conjugates are missing. It would imply, however, that either there is text missing or the missing conjugates would have been blanks which were independent of the structure of the text. It is not impossible that in the proofing procedures some proofs would have been pulled on half-sheets, the other half of the sheet missing. Yet, the main objection to expressing the conjugates as 'minus' or 'missing' is that the text of the entire volume is complete and consecutive. In fact, this is a key to understanding the BSB-document: none of the text of the *Rationale* is missing except the few words in the transition of pages which resulted from proof-reading and resultant adaptation of page-ends, as set out below, or lines that were restored to the text in the course of proof-reading. Considering the whole volume as a collection of proofs offers an explanation for the occurrence of so many singleton leaves.

In the publication I proposed a collation which considered the singleton leaves as inserted, and identified the inserted leaves within the quires, e.g. '[n^{8+2} ($2+1$, $6+1$)]'. It is still the case that the insertion of most singletons can most conveniently be recognised by the cancel stubs to which they are attached. However, the fact that the text is complete and consecutive indicates that the singletons are replacements rather than additions; if the document were a complete copy of an edition they would in bibliographical terms be called 'cancellantia', but in the case of the BSB-document, a collection of proofs, this is not strictly correct either. All the singleton leaves identified by a stub are conjugate with another singleton within the quire, with the exception of the two quires with an uneven number of leaves, [g^{6+1}] and [s^{10+1}], each of which indeed has an inserted leaf. The conclusion becomes obvious: when proofs on full sheets were assembled in the printing house in order to build a textually complete copy, on several (in fact, seven) occasions a satisfactory full sheet with text in the right order could not be found. In those cases two half-sheets were put together, which formed new conjugates. The analysis below of the proof corrections may clarify how this occurred. For now, a new collation formula may express this, using the ± sign (a conventional sign for cancel leaves) to indicate the singletons:

[a–b^{10} c^{10} (± 3, 8) d^8 (± 4, 5) e–f^{10} (± 4, 7) g^{6+1} (+6) h^2; i^8 (± 4, 5) k^6; l^{10} m^{10}(± 5, 6) n^{10}(± 3, 8) o–p^{10} q^8; r^{10} (± 4, 5) s^{10+1} (+3)]. 160 leaves.

This might be dismissed as a bibliographical technicality. Underlying it, however, is the exceptional nature of a document that not only reflects the result of an intricate production process, but also describes a successful attempt to

assemble a practically perfect copy from proofs pulled during more than one stage of this process.

Due to a century of close examination of the earliest printing, we can be confident about the principles of the production process. In the first decades of printing, typesetting took place a page at a time, seriatim of the text;[38] naturally, there would be an interval of time between the production of a recto and its verso page—and 'production' includes not only typesetting and printing (and time for drying of printing), but also cycles of proofreading. But the completion of sheets entailed much longer intervals of time. Sheets were not completed until the typesetting/proofreading/printing had arrived at the conjugates of leaves in the first half of the quire. For example, in a quire of 10 leaves, made of five folded sheets, the outer sheet contained pages 1, 2, 19, and 20. After page 2 was set, the completion of the sheet would have to wait until 16 following pages (pages 3–18) were in type and presumably printed. After the first few decades, a period of transition began when compositors and pressmen might proceed per sheet, completing a sheet immediately after printing the first half. With the introduction of two-pull presses the outer or inner formes of a sheet could be printed in one go, and consequentially the order of typesetting and printing changed to non-sequential (or 'non-seriatim').[39] But for the earliest Mainz printing all studies, most of them very elaborate, have concluded that the books were typeset and possibly printed in sequential order of large sections of the text. The page was the unit of production, verso following recto, the printing of the sheet in due course to be completed when the compositor had reached the text for setting the appropriate other half of the sheet—again, verso following recto. A sheet of an edition in-folio passed at least four times through the press, but in what order this took place is a question to be addressed whenever it arises, as is the question whether colour printing required it to pass through the press even more often. The result of investigating page-for-page typesetting and printing in the earliest Fust and Schoeffer editions is concisely expressed by Sir Irvine Masson in his magisterial monograph that was based on the examination of many copies of the Mainz Psalters.[40] His meticulous study of the typesetting and printing of Fust and Schoeffer's earliest books has enormous relevance to the proofs of the *Rationale*, especially as the typesetting and printing of the second Psalter in 1459

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38   See the study 'Press and Text in the First Decades of Printing', pp. 8–36.

39   For non-seriatim printing, see 'Press and Text in the First Decades of Printing', pp. 25–31.

40   Sir Irvine Masson, *The Mainz Psalters and Canon Missae 1457–1459* (London, 1954).

must have partly overlapped with its production. After adducing extensive evidence in the form of the recurrence of damaged type in the Psalters as well as some other grounds, Masson concludes, 'These evidences sufficiently conform for at least parts of our three works [i.e. the two Psalters and the Canon Missae] what is generally accepted on diverse grounds for early folios, and was naturally to be expected for ours, namely, that they were printed from single-page formes'.[41]

Close examination of the proofs of the *Rationale* brings unambiguous evidence that the page-by-page mode of producing the book should be assumed without undue caution. This is crucial for understanding the nature of the collection of proofs.

Textual Correction

The most striking trace of proofreading in the BSB-document is seen on the 45 pages with correction marks. We shall see that most of these marked typographical flaws and did not affect the substance of the text. On a smaller number of other pages additions and amendments are clearly written in brown ink. They look quite considered and deliberate, and are different in appearance from the far more frequent, mainly typographical corrections. There must have been many more corrections of either kind on leaves that have not survived as marked-up leaves in the BSB's set of proofs; several corrections which are not marked in the document have come to light when comparing sample pages in the document with the edition as represented by the vellum copies in the British Library. The BSB-document includes c. 250 pages without any markings, and we cannot know what state of the text these pages represent: before the first proofreading, before a revision, or perhaps an almost final stage, a final proof before the fiat for printing was given.[42] Only a complete collation of the document against finished copies (preferably multiple copies) might provide an answer to that question. In the absence of a complete collation it is impossible to estimate the number of times correctors intervened in the text and its presentation. Yet my partial collation gives an impression of great care for its completeness, clarity, and accuracy.

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41   Masson, op. cit., p. 33.

42   Paul Needham surmised that many of the proof sheets of the Mentelin Latin Bible represented a final state, or 'passed proofs'. See his 'Mentelin's Latin Bible', p. 12 (see above, n. 18).

Since this is the *editio princeps*, the printer's copy can only have been a manuscript; there is no evidence that another manuscript source influenced the final text, although that need not be ruled out. One or perhaps more correctors may have checked the first proofs against the manuscript copy, possibly assisted by a reader, or *lector*, who read the original text aloud to him, a procedure amply illustrated by Anthony Grafton's study of the practices of proofreading;[43] in particular, the lines added after the pulling of the (probably first) proofs suggest that the printer's exemplar was the basis for the proof correction. The shorter insertions are more ambiguous on this point, for some do not necessarily come from a source, but may simply have been a clarification, good grammar, or good sense. There are some indications that the textual proofreading operation preceded the typographical scrutiny. As can be seen in the list below, major textual correction, such as adding lines, seldom overlapped with the typographical marking up. The few which do overlap (e.g. on [g]6[b]) are small corrections, and may be a result of either of the two operations. Noting typographical defects addressed the readability of the text, but if in that phase some textual corrigendum was noticed, it was also marked.

The following is a list of the textual corrections in so far as they have emerged, while there are undoubtedly other examples of unmarked corrections swimming in the ocean of type that forms the text of the *Rationale*. Even if incomplete, the present list may serve as a set of examples to demonstrate a variety of instances. From the point of view of the history of the production of the book it is an arbitrary list, dependent on the small chance of a page showing textual corrections having been included in the collection of proofs gathered in the printing house, and the even smaller chance of spotting a textual correction that was not marked on the proof.[44]

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43   Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London, 2011), p. 8.

44   To avoid unhelpful complication, the leaf references to the BSB-document do not express whether a leaf is a singleton or part of a conjugate. They indicate the position of the leaf within the quire, and parallel those in the completed copies. The two copies of the *Rationale* in the BL are the King's Library copy, C.14.e.6 (from here on 'C'), and the Grenville copy, G. 11968 (from here on 'G'), BMC I, p. 20. I have checked the execution of textual corrections established by comparison of the proofs with the two BL copies against the copy in the JRUL, Manchester (JRL 3074). The corrections I noted in the BL copies are the same in the JRUL copy. This revealed that one leaf in the JRUL copy was entirely reset ([l]1[a]; see 'Resetting' below).

Insertions of text:

Pages	Insert or correct	Typographical or other markings	Resetting?
[b]2ª	calicis	spacing insert ꝰ unmarked textual correction	2 lines
[c]2ª, l. 36	ve	no	1 line, partly
[c]9ª, col. b	shift line	no	no
[d]7ᵇ, l. 10	suīť de ve.‖ te inťdū	no	3 lines (8–10)
[e]3ᵇ, col. b, l. 37	ꝑmittiť	one spacing: postea > post ea	2 lines
[e]4ᵇ, col. b, l. 1	one line, not marked	no	2 lines transferred to [e]5ª
[f]1ª, col. b, l. 62	ꝛ offerūť	no	2 lines
[g]5ᵇ, col. b, l. 41	vinū> vnū	many	no
[g]6ᵇ, ll. 36, 37	ab iꝑo	many	2½ lines
[k]3ª, col. b, l. 30	oues	marginal markings not followed	3 lines (30–32)
[l]3ª, ll. 25–27	2 lines, not marked	one	col. end and page-end shifted, 2 lines, reset on [l]3ᵇ
[l]3ᵇ, col. b, l. 18	in: formať in vobis > informať in voᵬ	many	one word
[m]1ᵇ, l. 11	de	no	no, only quo > ꝙ
[o]4ᵇ, l. 41	1 line: de corpe ei⁹ sacro emanauerunt aquibus below: ꝑmi	no	8 lines
[o]5ª	reverse order of line at beginning of paragraph	two > anagogem > improve e	1 line
[p]4ª, col. b, l. 53	ē for 'est'	no (even where needed)	no

(cont.)

Pages	Insert or correct	Typographical or other markings	Resetting?
[r]4ᵇ, col. b, ll. 59–63	change order of lines from 59–61–62–63–60	one correction ecclesiastice > ecclesiastici, but change order of lines not marked	no, set lines rearranged

Most of the corrections required some resetting, but very brief insertions required minimal interference in the text. The insertion of 'de' on [m]1ᵇ, l. 11, or 'ē' on [p]4ᵃ, col. b, l. 53, required only the contraction of one word:

insert 'de':

prf: in quo ^ baptismo saluatoris plene agit. ꝛ ei⁹ geneo⸗
Ed: in q̊ de baptismo saluatoris plene agit. ꝛ ei⁹ geneo⸗

insert 'ē'

prf: cātaṫ primo alľa qď ^ vox āgľica ī lingua hebraica
Ed: cātaṫ prīo alľa qď ē vox āgľica in lingua hebraica

The brevity of the inserted word did not always result in minimal interference in what was set.

   On [g]6ᵇ, ll. 36–38, four extra letters affected three lines, requiring the resetting or partial rearrangement of three lines: the letter b to form 'ab' at the end of l. 36, and 'iꝑo' (for 'ipso') at the beginning of l. 37. But the compositor seems to have salvaged some of the earlier setting, as he also did elsewhere:

prf: accipit in q̇busdaꝫ ecclesijs pacē ab eukaristia siue a^
Ed: accipit in q̇busdaꝫ ecc̄ijs pacē ab eukaristia siue ab

prf: ^ corpe dn̄i. vel scďꝛ alios. ab iꝑo sepulcro .i. calice vľ
Ed: iꝑo corpe dn̄i. uľ scďꝛ alios. ab iꝑo sepulcro .i. calice
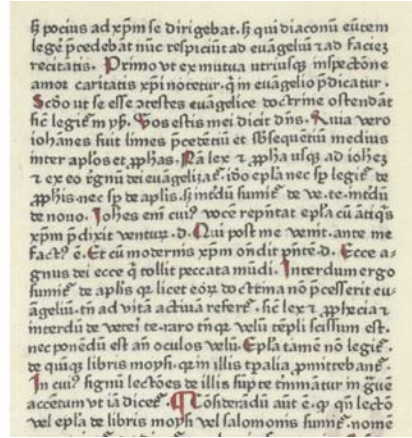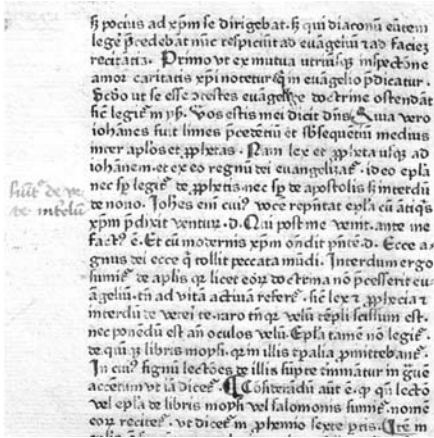
FIGS. 4.2A–B *Left: Insertion of text* 'suit̄ de ve.‖te int̄dū' (*suitur de vetere testamento interdum*) *marked on the proof. Munich* BSB, *Ink-324, [d]7ᵇ, detail, ll. 1–22. (reduced). Right: The compositor who carried out the correction began two lines early with abbreviating and contracting words, in order to insert text in the correct spot. A new mistake was made by the repetition of the word 'interdum'. London,* BL, *C.14.e.6, [d]7ᵇ, detail, ll. 1–22 (reduced).* © The British Library Board.

prf: altari. ꝛ mox prebet oris osculuȝ mistro. s. diacono
Ed: vl̄ altari. ꝛ mox p̄bet oris osculuȝ mistro. s. diacono

The word 'oues' to be inserted at the beginning of a line caused the resetting of three lines ([k]3ᵃ, col. b, ll. 30–31), including an improvement in spacing (neī/ne ī) and the expansion of several words:

prf: ^ ꝛ p̄faīlias opaìos neī calòe ꝛ labòe deficiãt cōsola⸗
Ed: oues ꝛ p̄familias opaìos ne ī calore ꝛ labore defici⸗

prf, l. 31:   tur de quo iā dicet̄. Et qñque capl̓m. Gratiauobis
Ed, l. 31:   āt cōsolat̄. de quo iā dicet̄. Et qñꝗ capl̓. Gratia

prf, l. 32:   ꝛ pax a deo. Galath. i. a. Qñque Pacē ꝛ veritatem
Ed, l. 32:   voꝫ ꝛ pax a deo. Galath. i. a. qñꝗ Pacē ꝛ veritatē

The insertion of the longer word 'calicis' on [b]2ᵃ, col. b, l. 17, caused fewer lines to be disturbed than for '[a]b ip̄o' and 'oues':

prf: Septimo de vnctōe eccl̓ie altaris ^ alioꝝ ministeì⸗
Ed: Septīo de vnctōe eccl̓ie altaìs calicis ꝛ alioꝝ mini⸗

prf: orum eccľiasticoꝗ. Octauo de extrema vnctione. [*space*]
Ed: sterioꝗ eccliasticoꝗ. Octauo de extrema vnctione [*no space*]

On [f]1ᵃ, the compositor who had to carry out corrections marked on the proof could proceed without difficulty. It is a page without marked corrections, except for near the end of col. b, l. 62, where the corrector demanded the insertion of the words 'ꝛ offerūť. This caused ll. 62–63 to be rearranged, rather than reset:

prf: munèa ei⁹. Sacrificia dicūť quia saċficāť ^ pro peccis
Ed: munèa ei⁹. Sacrificia dicūť quia saċficāť ꝛ offerūť

prf: nr̄s ꝛ nos sacros efficiūt. Vn̄ apľs inꝗt de pontifice
Ed: pro peccis nr̄s ꝛ nos sacros efficiūt. Vn̄ apľs inꝗt de

On the following page, [f]1ᵇ, the text continues both in the proof and in the edition:

prf/Ed: de pōtifice vt offerat ... *etc.*

The insertion and transfer of two words to the verso page could be made without any trouble, for apparently page [f]1ᵇ was not yet completed. The duplication of the word 'de' is the only small scar that remains. Another such dittography at the transition of pages was caught in time. On s7ᵃ, col. b (a page without correction marks), the last line in the proof ends: '... pridie idus et'. The following verso begins 'et ꝑdie nõs'. This page is marked, and here the corrector noted in the margin: 'd ꝛ', the 'd' being the still familiar 'deleatur' symbol; the correction was carried out by removing 'et' on the verso before the page for the edition was printed.

    Other examples show marks for insertion of a longer phrase or a whole line, and their effect. On [d]7ᵇ, ll. 8–10, the compositor who carried out the correction began two lines early, abbreviating and contracting words in order to insert the reference to the Old Testament into the correct spot in l. 10: 'suiť de ve.||te inťdū'. A new (minor) mistake was made by the repetition of the word 'interdum' (see Fig. 4.2):

prf, l. 8:   inter apľos et ꝑphetas. Nam lex et ꝑpheta vsꝗ ad
Ed, l. 8:   inter apľos et ꝑpħas. Nā lex ē ꝑpha vsꝗ ad ioħeȝ

prf, l. 9:   iohānem. et ex eo regnū dei euangelizať. ideo epľa
Ed, l. 9:   ꝛ ex eo r̄gnū dei euāgelizať. idꝺo epľa nec sp legiť de

prf, l. 10:   nec sp legiť de ͵pphetis. nec sp de apostolis ^ interdū
Ed, l. 10:   ͵pphis. nec sp de apľis. ẟ inťdū sumiť de ve.te. inťdū

A textual corrigendum which did not require resetting is marked on [c]9ᵃ, col. b. A sequence of references, using crosses and letters (a and b), indicate that a line had gone astray. After l. 9 the proof has a line beginning ' ꝛ introit⁹'. This line is marked, and a long line in ink indicates that it had to be transferred to a point 25 lines lower in the column, and that is where we find the printed line in the edition. On the proof the words 'et introit⁹' followed by a cross are written in the right-hand margin at the correct site, and to make quite sure, 'et' is written on the left of the column.

A line going astray is a telling error. In the process of being transferred from column galley to page galley the line must have been misplaced. For this page (and presumably for all the pages of the *Rationale*), the column was the unit that was built up, not the page as a whole; lines of typeset matter were first transferred from the stick to a column galley, and then, when both columns were finished, to a galley where the page was locked in. The absence of any sign of intercolumnar quads, clearly visible on several other early proofs, also indicates that such a procedure was followed.

The addition of one line, not marked on the proof, is another demonstration of this procedure. On [e]4ᵇ in the proof, the top line of column b is missing. In the edition the line appears at the top of the column:

ꝗ iꝑe nō solū fuit ͵ppheta. sȝ ꝛ plus ꙗ ͵ppheta. Ac in

We can follow how the problem of adding a line to the page was solved by transferring two lines of text to the following page. In the proof column b ends with two lines, which are also found as ll. 1 and 2 of the following page ([e]5ᵃ), both in the proof and in the edition. The later annotator of the BSB-document deleted with red marks the two now superfluous bottom lines in the proof of [e]4ᵇ. In the edition [e]4ᵇ has 62 lines instead of the regular 63. In this case we can observe that when the correction was carried out by adding the line at the top of column b, the typesetting of the following recto page may not yet have been completed, and it was certainly not yet printed.

A similar unmarked correction occurs on page [l]3ᵃ, where two lines had to be inserted in column a. After l. 25, two lines are added in the edition:

prf/Ed, l. 25: [vir˄]|||ginis q̊tidie dicereť et in die sabḇti solemniť fieret.

added:

Ed, l. 26:   in q̊ officō matutīo dicūť ille lecōes. O btā maìā q̈s
Ed, l. 27:   digne. sūpte ex illo ƀmōe aug⁹. loq̇nì (*sic*) dilcissimi (*sic*) ꞇč
Ed, l. 28:   Hoc etiā tēpore nō debet fieri specialiť cōmemoracō alicui⁹ sancti

Line 28 in the edition is l. 26 in the proof, where both columns end two lines later in the text than in the edition.

The page ends:

prf: col. b, ll. 60–63:

l. 60:   ad natiuitateʒ Ideo ī ātiphonarijs noctis intitulať
l. 61:   q̈rta dñica. ❰ Quadruplex aūt racō hui⁹ duplicis
         (*this is where the page ends in the edition*)
l. 62:   intitulacōnis libroꝫ ꞇ inchoacōnis aduētus reddi
l. 63:   cōsueuit. Prima ꝗ per lcōnariū recolim⁹ aduentū

On the verso, [l]3ᵇ, the proof repeats the text of ll. 62 and 63 as ll. 1 and 2, in a new setting which is also found in the edition:

prf/Ed: intitulacōnis libroꝫ ꞇ ichoacōis aduet⁹ ṙddi ꝑsueuit
          Prima ꝗ p lectōnariū ṙcoli⁹ aduentū dñi in mun꙼

As was the case on [e]4ᵇ, the textual omission was not discovered until after the proof of [l]3ᵃ was pulled, but before work on the following page ([l]3ᵇ) was completed. The proof of [l]3ᵇ is marked up but has textually the same state as the edition, its markings mainly noting typographical flaws. We may find here some evidence for a lapse in time: [l]3ᵃ has a textual correction, belonging to the first stage of proofreading, but its verso appears to belong to the second stage, the typographical clean-up.

On [r]4ᵇ one line had gone astray at the bottom of col. b, where l. 60 is printed as the last line, after what should have been l. 63. The error is not marked by a proofreader, although he noted in these lines the one corrigendum on this page: 'ci' to turn the scriptural reference 'ecclesiastice' into 'ecclesiastici'. In the edition the line is printed in the correct place. The error in the proof was noted by the later annotator, who repeated the line in his red script below the column, having marked the line as missing with a cross. On [o]5ᵃ, col. a, however, a similar error was marked, the letters a and b to the right of the column, combined with two crosses in the text, indicating that at the end of a rubric and the beginning of a new one the text had been garbled, and lines had to be reversed.

On a different occasion, the compositor did not have such an easy escape as he did in the previous examples. On [o]4[b], l. 42, the insertion of the equivalent of a whole line was noted in the margin:

de corpe ei[9] sacro emanauerunt a quibus.

A light line is drawn through the word 'videť' in l. 43. The compositor reset the text over three lines where the proof had two, and expanded several contractions:

prf: aqua ^ efficaciā hn̄t sacramēta. quibʒ mediantibʒ in
Ed: aqua de eius corpore sacro emanauerunt. a quibus

Ed: efficaciam habent sacramenta. quibʒ mediantibʒ in

prf: amorem dn̄i inflāmanì. videť aqua gr̄e pfusa. Et at⁻
Ed: amorem dn̄i inflammanì. aqua gratie perfusa. Et at⁻

prf/Ed: tēde ꝙ sīc hijs singulis diebʒ scʒ. cena dn̄i. pasceue ...

A few lines lower, the word 'ꝑmi' had to be inserted, causing ll. 47 and 48 to be rearranged and reset. Here the edition begins to abbreviate considerably halfway through the previous line:

prf: dixim[9] attēdať. Subsequēter bn̄diciť cereus ex
Ed: dixim[9] attēdať. Sb̄seqñter bn̄diciť cere[9] ex insti

prf: institucōe zozini ɿ theodori ^   b̄be. ꝼ beat[9] ambroꞵ bn̄⁻
Ed: tucōe zozini ɿ theodori ꝑmi b̄be. ꝼ beat[9] ambroꞵ bn̄⁻

All of the following lines and the columns in the edition end as they do in the proof, and all have the regular 63 lines. So where did the compositor who fitted in the additional text find the space for the extra line, and how could he be so very relaxed about the setting of ll. 41–43, including the additional words but using fewer contractions? The answer can be found much higher on the page, at ll. 12–17, where he made use of the fact that the rubric, beginning with a red Lombard S, has a short caption, printed in black. The compositor who made the correction continued the line after the caption and then abbreviated furiously, the most extreme words being 'dʒ iġs' for 'debet ignis'. Thus, he managed to squeeze text into four lines where the proof took five, and to gain the space for the additional line after l. 42 in the proof:

prf, l. 12:   [S]Ecūdo loco paschalis
Ed, l. 12:   [S]ecūdo loco. pascaľ cere⁹ bñdiceť. Ciȓ qď sci⸗

prf, l. 13:   cere⁹ bñdiceť. Circa qď sciendum est.
Ed, l. 13:   enď ē ꝗ ī pñcipio officij tot⁹ in eccľa dʒ iġs

prf, l. 14:   ꝗ in pñcipio officij tot⁹ in eccľa debʒ ignis
Ed, l. 14:   extingui. ⁊ nou⁹ de lapide pcusso cū calite

prf, l. 15:   extingui. ⁊ nouus de lapide pcusso cū calite vel ex
Ed, l. 15:   vľ ex ċstallo soli obiecta dʒ eliri ⁊ de farmēto foueri
prf, l. 16:   cristallo soli obiecta debʒ eliri ⁊ de farmēto foueri

At this point the edition had caught up with the proof, having gained a whole
line: l. 16 in the edition ('ignis vet⁹ veterē siġficat legē cui⁹ figuė in mòte') has
the same typesetting as l. 17 in the proof. The resetting of ll. 12–15/16 offers an
extreme example of abbreviation and contraction, one that was certainly not
conducive to reading the text. Arguably, the correction may have been made
when it was no longer possible to transfer a line via the following column on
the same page, and then the bottom line of col. b to the top of the following
page, as we have seen with the line shifts on [l]3ᵃ⁻ᵇ. We must assume that [o]5ᵃ
was already in type, and that it was no longer possible to change it. Instead,
the compositor ingenuously found some blank space higher up in the column,
after the (black-printed) title of the rubric, but the result is an ungainly passage.

    Other textual corrections needed far less drastic action. The change of a
single word might be the result of a misreading of copy, as, for example:

    vinū > vnū [g]5ᵇ, col. b, l. 41.[45]

An unmarked replacement of the word 'cingētes' happened to come to light on
[b]2ᵃ, col. b, l. 27, where spacing was also improved. This is the same page where
the word 'calicis' was inserted after marking (see above), and the mistake was
obviously caught in a later reading:

prf: orent super eu. cingētes eū oleo innoīedñi. ⁊ oracō
Ed: orent super eū. vngētes eū oleo in nīe dñi. ⁊ oracō

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45   CIBN D-278 notes that in the copy Vélins 125 this correction was not carried out, still reading
      'vinū'.

FIGS. 4.3A–B *The corrector required the insertion of a line marked in the margin of l. 42:* 'de corpe ei⁹ sacro emanauerunt aquibus'. *It meant resetting of lines. Munich* BSB, *Ink-324, fol.* [0]4ᵇ, *col. a (reduced). London,* BL, *C.14.e.6.* © *The British Library Board.*

The five vellum leaves included in the BSB-document might reasonably be expected to represent the final stage of the genesis of the text, after the fiat was given for printing. My (admittedly rather rapid) collation of the vellum leaves with the two copies in the British Library produced a single variant on [a]9ᵇ, l. 53, showing that even at this late stage the attention to detail did not waver. The words 'quod' and 'quid' occur three times in this line, set with two different

abbreviations. Switching the abbreviations was probably a late discovery of what amounts to a grammatical error for those fluent in Latin abbreviations:

prf:　　[...] Circa ꝓ nõnđ est qđ templū spüle qđ ē
Ed:　　[...] Circa qđ nõnđ est ꝓ templū spüle qđ ē
prf/Ed:　homo qꝗӡ polluiť. ...

Typographical Correction

Most of the textual corrections are clearly distinct from the corrections marked in the margins of 46 of the pages. The way the major textual corrections are written is different from the light and quick strokes with which most of the other corrigenda are marked. A few pages have similar corrections in a somewhat heavier hand which placed the marks more outward in the margins. To categorise these corrigenda as 'typographical' is not entirely correct, although most of them point out technical flaws: damaged type, turned type, wrong sort, ligature required instead of single sorts, spacing, alignment, and a type that is either proud and therefore too heavily printed, or too low in the typeset matter to print properly. If we take as a specimen page [l]3ᵇ, we find that of the 25 marked corrections, 9 concern the use of ligatures, 4 pertain to spacing, 4 require the replacement of a damaged type, 3 cause the improvement of a contracted form (e.g. cogitacōs > cogitacōes), 2 require better alignment, 2 require a change in punctuation (from high point to low point), 1 is a textual correction (col. b, l. 18: xꝑs formať in vobis > xꝑs informať in voƀ).

The marks often consisted of strokes in the margin, and usually also through the letter that needed attention; separating and closing up words were both indicated with light vertical strokes in the text. For insertions the caret sign ^ or a cross was used, and the letter d was used for 'deleatur', as in '/d .' ('delete full stop'), much as we have used it to the present day. A less enduring convention is the letter V placed in the margin, presumably to indicate 'verseatur' for 'to be turned around'—for example, to mark (on [g]7ᵃ, col. b, l. 25) that the full stop had to be set after 'fregit' in 'discipulis. fregit ꝛč' > 'discipulis fregit. ꝛč', or that an upside-down letter had to be turned, as on [g]7ᵃ, col. b, l. 42. In 1608 Hieronymus Hornschuch included the caret and the 'deleatur' sign (but not the V) in a list of correction marks in his instruction book for correctors of printed works.[46]

46　　Hieronymus Hornschuch, *Orthotupographia, Hoc est instructio operas typographicas correcturis* (Leipzig, Michaël Lantzenberger, 1608), pp. 16–17. Facsimile edition with introduction by Martin Boghardt, Frans A. Janssen, and Walter Wilkes (Darmstadt, 1983).

FIG. 4.4   *A page with many typographical corrections. Munich BSB, Ink D-324, fol. [l]3ᵇ (reduced).*

Here is a selection of the many examples (see Fig. 4.5 on p. 132).

Turned letters were indicated by repeating the letter in the margin:

[g]5^b, l. 34; [g]6^a, ll. 32 and 33

Add space, indicated by a stroke in the margin or in the text:

[g]6^a, l. 22

Close up, indicated by a stroke in the margin:

[g]7^a, l. 31

Align, indicated by repeating the letter in the margin, also sometimes indicated by a cross:

[g]6^b, l. 55: 'dat' (d is too high)

Punctuation, Full stops were frequently inserted or omitted. Examples:

[g]7^b, l. 4; [g]6^b, ll. 30 and 32, where full stops are inserted

Capitalisation, indicated by a large letter in the margin:

[g]7^a, col. b, l. 12: xp̄us ī Emaus corā > xp̄us in emaus corā
[a]4^a, col. b, l. 53: diceť antiqui > Antiqui

Wrong sort, indicated by repeating the letter in the margin:

[g]7^a, col. b, l. 16: emedisse > ꝑmedisse
[g]7^a, col. b, l. 25: hůānitate > huānitate
[o]5^a, col. b, l. 11: esso > esse
[s]7^b, col. b, l. 10: mene > mane
[s]7 v^o, col. b, l. 12: inēsura > mēsura
[s]9^b, l. 15: Itēm > Item
[s]9^b, l. 56: abiectis .yiy. > abiectis .xix.

Other small typographical errors:

[l]1ᵃ, l. 44: dn̄ > dn̄i
[l]1ᵃ, col. b, l. 36: -os at line end, to read pėġn > pėġnos ('peregrinos')

Turn upside-down letter, indicated by 'V' in the margin (presumably for 'verseatur'):

[g]7ᵃ, col. b, l. 42, 'manu xᵈi' > 'manu xpi'

Proud letter, indicated by repeating the letter in the margin:

[g]6ᵇ, l. 61

Ligature required, indicated by marginal letters:

[l]3ᵇ, l. 44: fo in 'septiformi'

The following examples of marked corrections would be termed 'accidentals' in the traditions of textual bibliography, but they are not negligible in the transmission of the text. They are not technical, as the previously listed ones all are, but what they have in common is that they help to make the text accessible without distracting readers through irregularities or quirks. Their style of notation belongs to that of the same cursory but critical reading that brought to light the technical corrigenda, and it looks as if it were part of the same operation. In a modern division of responsibilities they would belong to the domain of the copy editor.

Preference for spelling:

[l]1ᵃ, l. 48: autūpno > autumno

Preference for contractions:

[s]7ᵇ, l. 9: q̄libȝ ... nonasque > quilibȝ ... nonasqȝ,

The substantive corrections in the pages with technical markings are few and far between. There cannot be absolute certainty as to whether they belong to the corrections which I consider to be from the first reading, against copy (and possibly with the assistance of someone reading the exemplar aloud),

Turned type and ligature te

Close up

Insert space

Delete full point between alij and repñtat

Insert full points (only one shown here)

Alignment: d is too high

FIG. 4.5 *Examples of typographical corrections. The illustrations are copied from my publication in Hans Limburg, Hartwig Lohse and Wolfgang Schmitz (eds.),* Ars impressoria: Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchdrucks, *München etc., 1986, pp. 187–190, where more examples are shown.*

or the second cursory reading, which relied entirely on the eyes of the corrector. I am inclined to classify them with the second operation. The correction marked with the curly 'Cf' on [g]6ᵃ, which perhaps may be interpreted as 'refer to copy', may support this, suggesting that this page, which has many typographical corrections, was not read against copy as a matter of routine in this phase of proofreading. The correction only amounts to the deletion of the word 'opacōis', but the corrector apparently had not seen it that way.[47] The compositor who carried out the correction filled the space

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47 Alternatively, the curly sign may be a version of the 'deleatur' mark in the firmer hand of

by expanding contractions. The new error, an extra r in 'honorrem', was not detected:

<div align="center">[cogita⸗]</div>

prf: cōnis in corde. locucōis in ore. ɀ ⟨-opacois⟩ actōnis

Ed: tionis in corde. locutionis in ore. ɀ actionis in oꝑe

prf: in oꝑe Vel in honorē t̄nitatis. vel ꝑꝓt̄ tres ordines

Ed: Vel in honorrem trinitatis. vel ꝑꝓt̄ tres ordines

Three small but substantive corrections may have their origin in misreading. Above, I have already noted the one textual correction 'formet̄ > informet̄on [l]3ᵇ. In addition, I noted:

> [g]7ᵇ, ll. 31, 32: replace 'cori ɀ' with 'ꝓtrai⁹' and at the end of l. 31 add '-gat' to read 'sb̄iūgat̄'.
> [o]5ᵃ, col. b, l. 24: ad anagoram > ad anagogem

Resetting

Even on the limited number of pages with marked textual corrections, we can see that the proof correction required the resetting of a considerable number of lines. But there is also some resetting which had nothing to do with textual accuracy. De Ricci (*Mayence*), the *Gesamtkatalog*, and CIBN D-278 noted successively that resetting had taken place at the beginning of several books where instead of a printed initial, a painted initial was expected to require a larger space. There was therefore less space for the text, which correspondingly was more abbreviated.[48]

In the proofs, this process, a purely technical matter, can be followed in one instance, the beginning of Book IV on [c]7ᵇ. Here the proof has no rubric and there is a 13-line space for an initial, whereas the two vellum copies in the British Library, C and G, have a short I printed in two colours, 7 lines high. In the proof, lines 43–55 were reset with sometimes extreme abbreviation, e.g.:

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the second corrector, but the word 'opacōis' that was going to be deleted was not marked.

48   GW 9101, Anm. 1:5, quoting as examples the beginning of the Prologue ([a]1ᵃ), Liber IV ([c]7ᵇ), and Liber VII ([r]1ᵃ); the variant noted on [a]1ᵃ may be merely the accidental dropping of the double hyphen at the end of the line. CIBN quotes variants at the beginning of Liber III, IV, VII, and VIII.

Ed, l. 43:   [ ]Nter cuncta ecclesie sacramenta ...
prf: [ ] Nꞇ cūcta ecc̄ie saċm̄eta ...

Ed, l. 46:   illud ecclesie representans conuiuium in quo filio || reuertenti pater
              ...
prf: illḍ ecc̄ie ṙpn̄tās ꝺuiᵌ|| niū (*sic*) in q̊ filio ṙuertēti pr̄ ...

The extreme abbreviation of the passage in the proof leaves no room for doubt
that the version with the printed initial, represented in the two vellum copies
in the British Library,[49] preceded the phase represented in the proof. It is clear
that the print run of the page with the two-colour initial was completed before
the version destined for a painted initial was printed. We may assume that this
was the normal procedure.

   In the proof, page [c]7ᵇ has a few marked corrections, including three in
the reset section (one wrong sort not noticed) but also two in the opposite
column a. Apparently, the page as a whole was inspected again after it had
been unlocked for the resetting. More significantly, this instance is a clear
example of the nature of the BSB-document: the proofs as assembled represent
various phases of the production of the book. Leaf [c]7 must belong to the final
phase of the printing of this page, after it was adjusted for the painted initial.
I have not observed variants in setting between its recto and the two vellum
copies; there was no reason why anything on that page needed to be adjusted
to accommodate a painted initial on its verso.

   Most of the pages in the BSB-document are not marked by proofreaders.
Without wide-ranging collation of both the whole text and with more copies of
the *Rationale*, it is not possible to ascertain which phase of the production we
are seeing on them: first proof before textual correction, or revision, or possibly
a final 'pass-proof' before printing.

Although in the present study I mainly confined myself to the three sources
readily accessible to me—the BSB-document and the two vellum copies in the
British Library—there is published information on several more of the more
than 50 copies of the Mainz Duranti still extant. For the question of resetting it
was illuminating to extend my comparisons to at least a few more of them.

   The variation between all copies with respect to the red printing of rubrics
and Lombards is considerable, even between the two copies in the British

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49   The John Rylands copy has here the same printed initial as the BL copies. The copy at the
      Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève has the resetting as in the proof.

Library. It seems likely that the printing house considered these irrelevant; states of red printing were randomly mixed. But in the treatment of copies with printed initials and with painted initials we may perceive attempts at consistency, albeit not always entirely successful ones. A digitised version of the Duranti in the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève in Paris has recently become available online. It is one of 10 copies which were elaborately illuminated with almost uniform designs by an artist in Mainz; later, a rubricator in Italy painted in the Lombards in the Sainte Geneviève copy with unmistakably Italian flourishes.[50] The high level of the Mainz illumination in as many as 10 still extant copies is good grounds for assuming that part of the print run was treated separately; the printers took care to produce a consistent composition within sections of the print run, with the hand-decorated part perhaps to be sold at a higher price and destined to be sold to clients who had no taste for printed decoration. Comparison of the beginnings of Books with the BSB-document and the British Library copies shows that the Sainte Geneviève copy has resetting at the beginning of Books I, III, IV, VII, and VIII. The initials painted at the beginning of the prologue on [a]1ᵃ, and the beginning of Books II, V, and VI, are elaborate, with flowers and extensive flourishes filling the margins, but the initial itself could be fitted in the same spaces which served for the two-colour printed initials.[51] Where there was resetting, the printed red rubrics are the same as for the other copies. But apart from the resetting of 13 lines at the beginning of Book IV, noted above, the resetting at the beginning of Book III took 22 lines, Book VII took 9 lines, and Book VIII took 11 lines. All had extreme abbreviations, similar to those noted for Book IV.

The resetting in the Sainte Geneviève copy conforms to two copies in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Vélins 126 and 127.[52] There are undoubtedly

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50   The Sainte Geneviève copy is one of a group of 10 still extant copies of Duranti with very similar illumination, which is ascribed to an artist, active in Mainz, who preceded the Fust master. See M. Ikeda, 'The First Experiments in Book Decoration at the Fust-Schoeffer Press', in B. Wagner and M. Reed (eds.), *Early Printed Books as Material Objects: Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, Munich, 19–21 August 2009* (Berlin, 2010), pp. 39–49. The 10 copies are listed on p. 44, n. 15. De Ricci (*Mayence*) 65.11, states that the copy now at Sainte Geneviève had belonged to Pope Pius VI at the end of the eighteenth century.

51   Martin Davies noted that the initial for Book I is painted by a different artist, identified as the Master of the Barbo Missal. See his 'From Mainz to Subiaco: Illumination of the First Italian Printed Books', in: Cristina Dondi, etc. (eds.), *The Roman Press in the Papal City and in Europe* (forthcoming).

52   CIBN D-278, with a meticulous record of the variant states.

more copies that are as homogeneous as the three copies in Paris. However, an example showing that the printing house was not always so strict in segregating copies is offered by the copy now in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester.[53] This copy is 'mixed', having printed initials for Books IV and VII, and painted initials in North Italian style for the prologue on [a]1ᵃ, and for Books I, III, V, and VI; an outline of an initial is drawn for Book VIII. The space for the initial for Book II is left blank, and the typesetting here is the same as in the proof. There is the same resetting at the beginning of Books III, VI, and VIII as there is in the copies in Paris.[54] Despite its two printed initials, it largely conforms to the three Parisian copies, but it has in addition one page that is entirely reset, and therefore a state to date not found in any other copy. This is page [l]1ᵃ, the beginning of Book VI, with a small painted initial I. The whole page has numerous but minor variants in typesetting, e.g. col. b, l. 58:

prf/Ed: Rursus hec q̃tuor tēpora cōsideranť scď m q̃tuor
JRL: Rursus hec quatuor tpa cōsiderāť scď m quatuor

The verso [l]1ᵇ and the conjugate pages are in the John Rylands copy of the same typesetting as the proof and the two British Library copies. The use of printed paragraph marks has shown that this was one of the first pages set and printed, copy being almost equally divided between two compositors for concurrent production (see below). There is, however, not an obvious explanation for the resetting of this page, which in the proof and British Library copies begins with a long printed two-colour initial I that reaches down to l. 32 on the page.

Finally, in the colophon on [s]11ᵃ there is variation between proof and the vellum copies, showing that it was set a second time for the edition:

prf: Presens racōnalis codex. ďino⁊ officōr ... decoratus: rubricati || onibusꝗ ...

Ed: Presens racōnalis ďino⁊ codex officō⁊ ... decoratus. rubricatiˀ || onibusꝗ ...

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53   JRL 3074. De Ricci (*Mayence*) 65.5. The Rylands copy has an early ownership inscription which can be read as 'Domus S Andree in li[ctor]e', which may be identified as the Carthusian house on the Lido in Venice. I am grateful to Martin Davies for sharing with me his reading of the partly deleted note.

54   I noticed a few minor setting variants between the JRL copy and that at Sainte Geneviève at the beginning of Book VIII.

prf: ... imṗmendi ac caracterizandi ... Clericuȝ ...
Ed: ... imprimendi ac caracterizandi: ... Clericum ...[55]

An explanation for the reasons or circumstances for why this happened may lie somewhere between the fact that this was the last page of the book, and the very first lines to be printed in Fust and Schoeffer's new type, their Type 5: 114G, a fount that, like Type 3: 91G, known as the 'Durandus type', lasted the printing house for the next 20 years, used intensively.

Colour Printing

In the finished volumes as well as in the proofs, printing in colour is a striking feature. Colour was essential for indicating the structure of the lengthy text by signalling its divisions into Libri, rubrics, and paragraphs. Colour is present in all known copies, either printed or applied in manuscript and paint. It is remarkable that printed colour is also present throughout the proofs, although there are variants with the completed volumes in the British Library (as well as some variants between the volumes).[56]

Sir Irvine Masson's observations on the colour printing in Fust and Schoeffer's previous editions—and his occasional glance at the *Rationale*—are an invaluable point of departure.[57] His conclusion for the three liturgical works is that the printers took great pains in preparing the pages with colour (red and blue) for printing in one pull together with the black letterpress. Initials and the smaller Lombards were first integrated into the typesetting, then taken out one by one, had the appropriate pigment applied, and then were placed back in the typeset page. Only a few of the numerous two-colour initials were printed in a different way, probably with a second pull of the press.

The red printing in the vellum copies of the *Rationale* appears to be the result of the same process as that described by Masson for the red printing in the Psalters and Canon Missae, initially even applied to the small paragraph marks. After setting a page, all the elements that were to appear in red were taken out, inked in red, and placed back again. Meanwhile, the rest of the page had been inked in black. The result is a very clean impression of the red, contrasting with the black, the pages all produced with a single pull of the press. We shall see

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55 GW 9101 notes the variant 'Clericuȝ' as 'zum Beispiel', suggesting there may be other occurrences.

56 CIBN D-278 lists 15 variants in Lombards and rubrics between the three copies in the BnF.

57 Masson, *The Mainz Psalters*, see n. 40 above.

that for the red-and-blue initials in the *Rationale*, a less demanding process was preferred.

Close examination of the red printing in the proofs (not only of the paragraph marks, but also the captions and Lombards, and at the end the colophon) shows that they were not printed with the elaborate method used in the vellum copies. Under magnification, which with the digital images can be produced so conveniently on the screen, the paragraph marks and the captions in the proofs clearly show smudges and outlines in black ink.[58] For the proof, the procedure seems to have been that having inked the entire page forme in black, the black ink was wiped off the elements that had to appear in red, and red ink was applied to them. With this simplified procedure the pages could also be printed with one pull of the press. The process left some traces and smudges, which could be ignored in the proofs.[59] Although this was a shortcut compared with the method deduced by Masson, it is remarkable that for the proof even this much trouble was taken: apparently, the pages had to be presented as they were to appear in their final printing.

Examining the two vellum copies in the British Library with a handheld loupe (magnification 6×) confirms that all red printing (including the red paragraph marks) is entirely clean.[60] The ink-and-wipe method was apparently confined to the proofs as an ingenious way to speed up the process. For the printing of the definitive copies (on vellum), the more demanding inking and printing process of the Psalters was followed.

1   *Paragraph Marks*

The proofs show that the paragraph marks were indeed integrated into the typesetting of the pages. In the vellum copies, they were taken out for each impression, separately inked, and reinserted in the by then black page. Printing the paragraph marks in red with this method must have been a very tricky job, for they were only c. 3 mm high, c. 4 mm wide. They appear on only 20 pages in quires [a] and [b], reappearing on 22 pages in quires [l] and [m], always

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58   Dr Bettina Wagner confirmed that the traces of black in the red printing are not an unwanted side effect of digitisation, but are visible in the original BSB-document. I am very grateful for her help.

59   It is the same procedure that William Blades observed in the red printing by Colard Mansion and in Caxton's edition of the *Cordiale* in French, discussed and illustrated in my study 'William Caxton, Colard Mansion, and the Printer in Type 1', *Bulletin du bibliophile* (2011), pp. 86–114.

60   Under magnification, the digitised images of the red printing in the copy at the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève also show an entirely clean image.

in conjunction with manuscript paragraph marks for which spaces were left open, in the proofs as well as in the vellum copies. The last time they appear in quire [b]is on [b]5ᵃ, and in quire [m] on m2ᵃ, after which they are not seen again.[61]

Having struggled with the small paragraph marks on a little over 40 pages in all (not all pages in these two sections have the marks), the decision must have been made that what had worked in the Psalters and Canon Missae for larger typographical units (large type, crosses, and small Lombards of type height) could not reasonably be applied to the smaller-bodied paragraph marks in the *Rationale*. Moreover, it cannot have helped that some of the sorts of the paragraph marks were kerned, since their thin lower 'horn' underruns the next letter.[62] The effort was abandoned, and from then on spaces were left blank whenever a paragraph mark was required, to be filled in later by a rubricator. This attempt reveals, however, an important feature of the printing process: quires [a]–[b] and quires [l]–[m] appear to have been set and printed concurrently, since they are the only quires with printed paragraph marks. We may conclude that copy was divided almost precisely in the middle of the text, the second section corresponding to leaf 82 in the printed book, the beginning of Liber VI. This division is expressed in each of the versions of the collation formula.[63] As already noted above, two other obvious breaks also occur before quires [i] and [r], where the beginning of a Liber is preceded by a blank page. The irregularity of quires [i]⁶⁺² and [k]⁶ may be a sign of copy-fitting, suggesting that a gap was closed at a late stage.

2   *Rubrics*

Clearly, when beginning the work the printer's intention was to give each rubric into which the eight Books were divided a caption printed in red; the captions were at most two lines long and often ended with an ℞ for 'Rubrica'. Their printing was achieved in the same laborious way as the other red printing: the caption, taking up one line, part of a line, or a two-line pair, was set as an integral part of the whole page; captions were taken out for each impression,

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61   Comparison with the BL copies shows that copy C (the King's Library copy) occasionally left out where the proof and the Grenville copy G had printed paragraph marks (e.g. on [l]2ᵃ, [l]7ᵇ); conversely, there are also instances of manuscript marks in the proof which are printed in C (e.g. on [l]5ᵇ, [l]8ᵃ).

62   Also noted by Masson, *The Mainz Psalters*, p. 30. Masson observed the distribution of red-printed paragraph marks but did not draw the conclusion that they signify concurrent production of two parts of the work.

63   See pp. 114–115 above.

FIG. 4.6 *Paragraph marks printed in red, as a list and in-text (l. 3 from above). Also a two-colour printed initial. The initial I above is painted in blue. Munich BSB, Ink-324, fol. [a]1r, col. b, detail (reduced).*

inked, and reinserted. In the proof they were not taken out, for they consistently show traces of the black ink that was wiped off before the application of the red pigment. Their presence in the proof is evidence that they were set at the same time as the entire text. Under magnification the captions as printed in the two vellum copies look very clean; the colour of the red pigment can vary considerably from pale to deep red, but the typesetting and its relation to surrounding text are stable—perhaps surprisingly so. Masson, who had seen other copies of the *Rationale*, noticed some side-shifting of the red printing. Between the copies C and G and the proofs I did not find significant shifting.[64] The captions occasionally show a sharper and deeper impression than the black text. Perhaps the process of taking them in and out caused them to stand slightly proud above the surface of the type of the text.[65]

Two errors in copy C confirm that the inking took place as described above. On [b]7ᵃ in copy C the rubric 'De ostiario. ℞' is printed upside down, whereas in the proof and in G it is printed correctly. Since the proof indubitably precedes C, there can be no question of an in-press correction.[66] Similarly, on [m]2ᵃ in copy C the caption 'De ꝓma dn̄ica post epħiā' was printed upside down and was subsequently erased, although it remains just visible. It is filled in in manuscript in the proof but printed as normal in G.

An error of a different kind is the one exception to the separate inking I have noticed. In copy C, [b]9ᵇ, l. 51, the caption 'De eꝓo' shows a lot of black. It is red and clean in G. Since it is a very small caption, its impression was perhaps overlooked when the page was printed for C. There is one variant between proof and C/G, the result of an unmarked correction: the order of the two-line caption on [e]5ᵇ, col. b, ll. 3–4 runs in the proof: 'de offertorio || Sďa ps misse'. In C and G the order is reversed to read: 'Sďa ps misse || de offertorio', which is correct, for Book IV is not only divided into rubrics but also into larger sections called 'partes'.

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64   Masson, *The Mainz Psalters*, p. 30. The one instance in prf/C, G that I observed is on [c]4ᵇ, col. b, l. 1.

65   On [d]3ᵃ in both vellum copies, at the end of the caption 'De incenso bn̄dicēdo. ꝛ in thuribulum mittendo' (a line with rather uneven spacing), a vertical type-high line is printed at the same level as the line ends of the column, suggesting that this is the end of a small block with the title. It is not visible in the proof, where the line is spaced differently.

66   The question of in-press correction puzzled Masson, who, when he encountered variants between copies, needed further evidence to establish the order of their printing, since there were only completed copies for him to examine.

Twenty red captions were added between the printing of the proofs and the definitive edition. There is also some variation in their occurrence between C and G. Although less trying than the insertion of paragraph marks, the insertion of the captions must have demanded a great deal of patience, concentration, and time. It is therefore not surprising that we can observe that enthusiasm for this repetitive technical feat waned as the book progressed. There is a significant difference in the occurrence of captions between the early and the later parts of the production of the divided copy (the first part beginning with quire [a], the other with quire [l]). In the 60 pages of quires [a]–[c] there are 27 with captions; in the same number of pages in quires [l]–[m] there are 35. But in quires [f]–[k] there is only one page with a printed caption, mirrored in quires [q]–[s], where only a single occurrence is found. In quires [f] and [s] there are no printed captions at all, and the textual divisions are merely marked in red by 3-line Lombards.

3   *Lombards*

The printers had a relatively lengthy experience with 3-line Lombards, for the same blocks had been used for thousands of impressions in their previous works. For each impression the printer inserted blocks with the Lombards into the typeset pages after inking the blocks with red. Since by the time they were working on the *Rationale* fitting in the Lombards had become a familiar routine, there are no obvious errors in the proofs and the two copies I examined. In the proof they show smudges of black, and we may conclude that they remained from the beginning in the typeset pages, and that for most Lombards in the proof red pigment was applied after black ink was wiped off. On most pages in the vellum copies they are very clear impressions, with a rim of thicker pigment forming an outline. The fit is often tight and precise, but I have not observed any overlap with the black text, which would indicate a second pull of the press. Although the preparation and printing of Lombards may have been a routine, we can observe here again the diminishing frequency of their occurrence as work went on. In quires [a]–[e] there are no painted Lombards in copies C and G, and only a few in the proofs, but they begin to occur in quire [f]. In the second part, however, quire [l] has a few, and the painted Lombards rapidly become more frequent in the later quires, especially in [q]–[s]. There are differences between the copies C and G, especially in quires [r] and [s], where many are omitted in copy G.

The shape of the painted Lombards is usually close to that of the printed ones, but there is no sign that might be the result of a mechanical process, such as has been established for Lombards in Fust and Schoeffer's Bible of

1462, where sometimes an outline was produced by printing Lombards blind, in order to guide the rubricator.[67]

4   *Two-colour Initials*

The two-colour initials are the outstanding feature of many copies of the *Rationale*, as they are for the two Psalters and the Canon Missae. They are large initials, printed in red or blue, surrounded by very fine ornaments in contrasting colour which are the equivalent of pen work flourishes in painted initials. In the *Rationale* their use is less frequent than in the liturgical works, placed only to mark the beginning of each of the eight Books, as well as a very large Q at the beginning of the text. After the *Rationale* Schoeffer used them only sporadically until he reprinted the Psalter in 1490. It is understandable that the experience of producing their earliest works, including the *Rationale*, had taught the printers that the process had to be simplified.[68]

It required great technical skill to craft the two-colour initials and to integrate them into the page of type. Their use in the Psalters and Canon Missae was studied extensively by Heinrich Wallau, who made a full inventory and illustrated a reconstruction of the 'instrument' the printers used with a very clear drawing showing two metal parts fitting together. He hypothesised that on type-high blocks the ornamental patterns were engraved; these framed a shallow mould in the exact shape of the letter. A relatively thin letter could then be embedded in the block but remain detachable.[69] The outer block was irregular in shape and included the long ornamental frills. Wallau's findings were largely endorsed by Masson, who had the opportunity to study many specimens not seen by Wallau, but he also noted at least one instance where

67   Needham, 'The 1462 Mainz Bible', p. 40, refers to Adolf Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen über die Buchdruckertechnik des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 14 (1897).

68   In subsequent Fust and Schoeffer editions, printing with blue was almost entirely abandoned, save for a small section of their Bible edition of 1462. For red printing, much reduced in frequency, the formes went through the press twice, masking sections of the text: once for black, once for red. For a detailed discussion, see P. Needham, n. 67 above, with reference to A. Schmidt.

69   Heinrich Wallau, 'Die zweifarbigen Initialen der Psalterdrucke von Joh. Fust und Peter Schoeffer', in Otto Hartwig (ed.), *Festschrift zum fünfhundertjährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 261–304, Tafel 25–30. id., 'Der Canon Missae vom Jahre 1458 der Bibliotheca Bodleiana zu Oxford, B: Typographische und druckästhetische Erläuterungen', in *Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft*, vol. III (Mainz, 1904), pp. 41–51. A careful inventory of all two-colour initials was presented by William H. Scheide, 'A Speculation Concerning Gutenberg's Early Plans for his Bible', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1973*, pp. 129–139.

the outer 'ornament' (in his terminology) consisted of two pieces which could be fitted together to form the bed for the letter.[70] Before each impression the assembled initial was taken out, its parts separated, the letter inked in one colour, the ornament in the contrasting colour, and the whole then put together and very carefully lowered again into its space in the forme. In the Psalters and Canon Missae this allowed the printers to print the page with its three colours in one pull. Masson found a few instances in which the overlap of colour over black type shows that the two could not have been printed at the same time. In the Psalters such 'afterprints' (again in Masson's terminology) were the exception; but in the *Rationale* I have noticed a clear overlap of colour over text on [a]1[b] (the beginning of Book I) and slight overlaps in several others.[71] Since there are only nine pages with initials in the *Rationale*, the printers seem to have found it worth their while to resort to the apparently less demanding method of letting these pages go through the press twice—although this obliged them to take great care with the register. In the proof the very strong impression of the initial P on [a]1[b], clearly visible on the digital image of [a]1[a], is evidence that the initials were not stamped in, a possibility also rejected by Masson.

The very large Q on [a]1[a] in many copies (present in the proof and in copies C and G) appears for the first time in the *Rationale*, and was obviously especially made for it (see Fig. 4.1 above). It was the last of such initials to be fabricated, and preparing this block was a bravura piece of work, even surpassing the previous large initials. Its overall height is 215 mm, its two-part tail descending down the page as far as l. 42 of the text and billowing elegantly in the margin. The shallow mould in the block must have been correspondingly complicated. The other, smaller initials used in the *Rationale* are P on [a]1[b], [r]1[a], long marginal I on [b]4[b], [l]1[a], short I on[b]10[a], [c]7[b], L on [i]1[a], and smaller Q on [s]5[b]. The proof and copy G do not have the small initial Q at the beginning of Book VIII on [s]5[b], but instead a two-colour painted initial. The proof has also a space left open for a painted initial (and resetting) on [c]7[b].

As noted above, the presence and absence of the two-colour initials vary between copies. GW 9101 notes 10 copies without any two-colour initials, and in addition an unspecified number ('einige') with only the small initial P on [a]1[b]. Furthermore, there are copies with only some of the initials missing. With the amount of dedicated skill required, it is not surprising that some were left out in the copies that were destined to be issued with printed initials.

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70   Masson, *The Mainz Psalters*, pp. 50 sqq.

71   Slight overlap of the Q on a1[a] in all three vellum copies examined, of I on b10[a], of P on r1[a], and of Q on [s]5[b] in copy C; of L on i1[a] and of I on l1[a] in copy G.
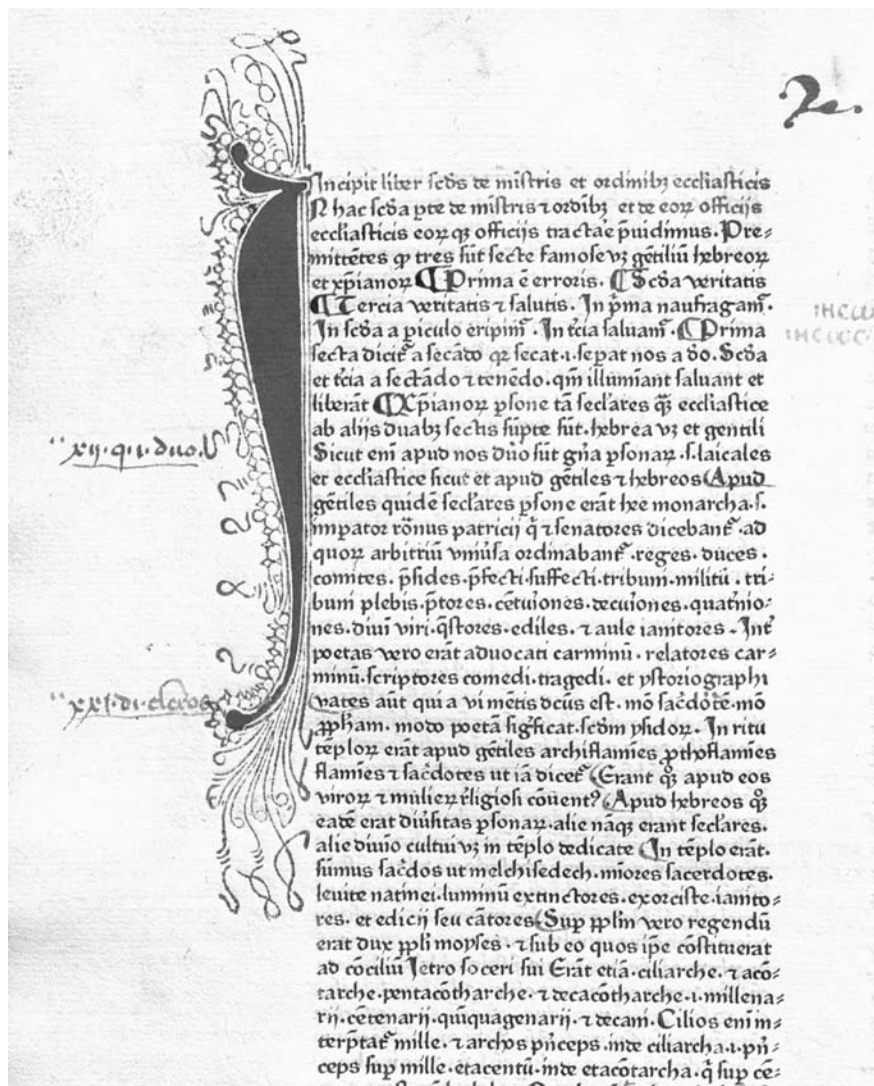
FIG. 4.7   *A two-colour printed initial to mark the beginning of Liber II. The I itself is in red, the flourishes in light blue. The marginal notes were made by an early user. The rubricator's L (for 'Liber') on top faces the Roman numeral with the number of the Liber on the facing recto. Munich BSB, Ink-324, fol. [b]4ᵇ, detail column a (reduced).*

Other copies were deliberately issued without any printed initials at all, and, as discussed above, spaces for painted initials were enlarged by resetting the surrounding text. Of the copies with blank spaces for initials, a number were carefully illuminated in Mainz, all following the same pattern. Customers were

therefore offered a choice between copies with printed initials, copies with Mainz illumination, and copies with blank spaces for initials, for finishing to individual taste. At least, that was the theory. In practice, several copies have a mixed state, resulting in complicated permutations of the scheme. There is no up-to-date census of all the copies of the *Rationale* with this level of information, but it appears that more copies were printed with the two-colour initials than without. The three levels of execution, the sheets obviously to be kept separate in the printing house, are a significant characteristic of this early phase of the production of printed books.[72]

Conclusions: In the Printing House

When did the printers—Fust and Schoeffer, or those who worked for them— decide to produce a workable copy by assembling the proof sheets? The presence of elaborate colour printing on marked-up sheets (e.g. [i]1ᵃ, [l]1ᵃ, both with a two-colour initial) may suggest that this was intended from the beginning. But even the printed initials point to an inconsistency, for the page with the beginning of Book IV ([c]7ᵇ), which has a two-colour printed initial in the two copies in the British Library, has instead in the BSB-document an open space with resetting of text, representing a later stage of the production of the page.

In his study of the proofs of the Mentelin Bible of c. 1460, Paul Needham argued that the largely unmarked proofs, printed on a supply of Chancery paper that was clearly distinct from the Royal paper of the finished copies, was a set of 'pass-proofs', almost consistently from the final phase of proofreading. The Chancery leaves, each representing a recto and a verso, were glued together to

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72   M. Ikeda ('The First Experiments', see above, n. 50) lists 10 copies with uniform Mainz illumination. De Ricci (*Mayence*) 65, noted 13 copies (out of 44) with painted initials but provided notes of early ownership for only a few, among them the copy now in the Bodleian Library (a copy with Mainz illumination), which had belonged to the canons of Bethlehem near Louvain. GW 9101, Anm. 1, quotes as examples 11 copies without printed initials. Martin Davies (see above, n. 51) publishes a list of the early owner of six copies, some with painted initials, which can be documented early on in Venice and Padua. The copy (with printed initials) in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, however, was owned by the Benedictines of Arras, and was obtained by exchange after the Napoleonic wars. Of the three copies in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, listed CIBN D-278, Vélins 126 has painted initials; its owners in Paris are documented from 1472. In the copy Vélins 127, bought in Bologna in 1462, all but one of the printed initials are omitted, the spaces not filled in.

form conjugate bifolia, and the assemblage is clearly the result of a deliberate, carefully controlled procedure. It is a striking example of a printer not allowing costly paper to go to waste.

The BSB-document is undoubtedly another example of printers making the best use of a precious supply of paper, in this case leftovers from stocks used for the Gutenberg Bible which apparently came into their hands. But a glance at the Appendix below, where pages with textual corrections and marked-up pages are shown within the structure of each quire, should suffice to conclude that we do not see here the same consistency as was maintained by Mentelin's workshop. There are many sheets without any marks, and they may well have been pass-proofs. To confirm this requires comprehensive collation—which for now has been carried out only patchily. But the pages with marked-up corrections offer significant evidence. They show that there is not a single sheet including all four pages marked with corrections, which would be a consistent representation of a correction phase. It would be difficult to achieve this: the modern observer may need reminding that at the time of the earliest printing, days or even weeks might elapse between the setting of the first page of a sheet and its completion with the fourth page. As set out in the 'preliminaries' above, the typesetting and printing took place a page at a time, the setting of the following page perhaps started but usually not completed before the previous page was proofed and printed. The shifts in page-ends and layout following corrections, as demonstrated above, are unambiguous witnesses to this process. The whole process of proofreading in two, perhaps three phases (textual, typographical, and pass-proofs) therefore took place a page at a time. When pulling proofs on whole sheets including four pages, as apparently had happened for the *Rationale*, the processing of pages 1 and 2 in a quire of 10 leaves would be separated by 16 pages (16 working days?) from that of pages 19 and 20. If the aim had been to assemble a consistent set of proofs, it would have required a great deal of discipline to keep track of which proofs were pulled on which sheets. Clearly, this was not how the printing house worked, although for the final printing of the pages for the book they obviously had a system in place to print completed, proofread pages on the appropriate sheets.

Fust and Schoeffer certainly cannot be accused of lack of discipline, but we can observe how their discipline was happily directed towards taking responsibility for a correct text, and presenting this in beautiful, regular, very readable typography. Yet what we see in this set of proofs is not entirely random either. With the exception of the singleton leaves, the printing house succeeded in producing sheets with four pages in the appropriate order. The Appendix may help with following their progress in some detail. The closest the printers came to producing a sheet in one consistent proof stage is in quire [k], where the

four pages of the middle sheet, leaves [k]3–4, all show corrections. The sheet was first used for page [k]3ᵃ, which has a textual correction (which I assume is the earliest correction phase). Of course, no (duplicate) page survives to witness that this was followed by a typographical clean-up. The next time the sheet was used was for the verso, [k]3ᵇ, which is marked up for the second correction phase, the typographical clean-up. Similar marks are found on the conjugate recto [k]4ᵃ, and finally the verso [k]4ᵇ. These three successively produced pages therefore all belong to the second correction phase.

There are more instances of the succession of recto and verso in the same correction state—[g]6ᵃ⁻ᵇ, [g]7ᵃ⁻ᵇ, [i]6ᵃ⁻ᵇ, [l]1ᵃ⁻ᵇ, [l]5ᵃ⁻ᵇ—or a combination of first and second states, as already seen in [k]3: [b]2ᵃ⁻ᵇ, [l]3ᵃ⁻ᵇ. The time-lapse between the setting and printing of a recto and verso was minimal, and it is therefore not difficult to imagine how these successive uses of the sheets came about. The corrections on [a]7ᵃ⁻ᵇ offer another impression of a minimal lapse of time between their printing. The verso has several marked-up typographical corrections, but the recto preceding it has only one, very minor correction, a line marking a word division ('exclamādūē', which was corrected to 'exclamādū ē').[73] The correction on the recto may have been the result of a final look at the page, after it was locked up, which caused the two words to run together; by then, the verso was set, the text corrected, and it was ready for a proof to be pulled for the typographical clean-up.[74]

Out of a total of 80 sheets of the BSB-document, 74 include the correct four pages, in the correct order, albeit in what appears to be a random combination of correction states. Even if the printers were indifferent to the correction states, their aim seems to have been to produce an almost perfect copy out of proofs pulled on the limited supply of the paper taken over from Gutenberg. It becomes obvious that the printing house somehow succeeded in largely keeping track of the proof sheets as they were produced step by step. They must have done this by identifying the sheets with the equivalent of signatures, and indeed, on many of the leaves in the first half of the quires a small mark is visible (sometimes partly cropped) that might be taken for a binder's signature, but may earlier have served in the printing house to identify the proof sheets.

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73   [a]7ᵇ, col. b, l. 14.

74   It is probably less significant that there are two sheets where what we may term 'conjugate pages' (which in later days would have constituted a 'forme') show the same correction state: [a]3ᵇ-[a]8ᵃ, and [a]4ᵃ-[a]7ᵇ; there are three instances where two pages with corrections occur in the same sheet: [c]2ᵃ-[c]9ᵃ, [p]4ᵃ-[p]7ᵃ, and [s]2ᵇ-[s]9ᵇ.

As to the singleton leaves, their occurrence can now be explained as instances where the system—such as it was—had failed: when in one half of the sheet the pages had got in the wrong order, or perhaps an altogether wrong page had been printed.[75] These would be the kind of errors which have left many visible traces in completed copies of early printed books. In the page-for-page progress of typesetting and printing, the correct combination of recto/verso was easier to achieve than that of conjugates. When no satisfactory full sheet could be found, sheets were divided, and a new combination was made. Out of necessity the printing house in Mainz occasionally resorted to the method that a year later was adopted as a system by Mentelin. In the end their supply of paper was used just as economically,[76] if not quite as systematically, and the result was an object that since then was generally taken to be a book.

The digital images of the BSB-document, and extensive comparison with two completed copies of the edition, have revealed a great deal. More will undoubtedly be discovered if comparison is extended to other copies, and other aspects will require even further investigation. For example, what about the learned corrector? Can he be identified? Did he see it as his task to follow a manuscript exemplar to the letter, perhaps one with the authority of an early manuscript? The instances of the insertion of lines show that he ensured that no text was lost in the process of transmission in print. Did he consider it his duty to restore the version he received to a state he considered 'correct', and repair any obvious damage to the text as it had been transmitted in manuscript over almost two centuries? Did changing 'cingentes' to 'ungentes' correct a misreading by a compositor, or was this a scribal error made many years ago? When had the 'oues' been lost? Who garbled 'ad anagoram' instead of 'ad anagogem', and when and where did it happen? These are questions that reach far into the history of Duranti's text but cannot be separated from the study of the text in an early printing house. For now, however, they have to remain unanswered. Instead, I end with another question, one that is probably unanswerable: Would this unique document perhaps have been the printers' modest token of appreciation of the work of the scholarly corrector?

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75   The Appendix shows that of the singleton leaves, only [g]6, [m]5, and [r]4 have corrections.

76   At least one spare set of proofs must have been produced, since we may take it for certain that there were at least two pulls for every page: one for textual corrections and a second one for the 'typographical clean-up'.

Appendix

Table showing the quire structure of the BSB document of the *Rationale,* marking the pages with corrections.

Legenda:
±: singleton leaves
+: inserted leaves
v: vellum
light grey background: pages with textual corrections
dark grey background: pages with typographical corrections
(three pages have both kinds of corrections)

Sig.	Fol.	Notes	Sig.	Fol.	Notes
$a1^a$	1		$a10^b$		Collates $[a]^{10}$
$a1^b$		LIB I	$a10^a$	10	
$a2^a$	2 (v)		$a9^b$(v)		
$a2^b$	(v)		$a9^a$(v)	9	
$a3^a$	3		$a8^b$		
$a3^b$			$a8^a$	8	
$a4a$	4		$a7^b$		
$a4^b$			$a7^a$	7	
$a5^a$	5		$a6^b$		
$a5^b$			$a6^a$	6	
$b1^a$	11		$b10^b$		Collates $[b]^{10}$
$b1^b$			$b10^a$	20	LIB III
$b2^a$	12		$b9^b$		
$b2^b$			$b9^a$	19	
$b3^a$	13		$b9^b$		
$b3^b$			$b8^a$	18	
$b4^a$	14		$b7^b$		
$b4^b$		LIB. II	$b7^a$	17	
$b5^a$	15	last printed para marks	$b6^b$		
$b5^b$			$b6^a$	16	
$c1^a$	21		$c10^b$		Collates $[c]^{10}(\pm 3, 8)$
$c1^b$			$c10^a$	30	

Sig.	Fol.	Notes	Sig.	Fol.	Notes
c2^a	22		c9^b		
c2^b			c9^a	29	
±c3^a	23		± c8^b		
±c3^b			± c8^a	28	
c4^a	24		c7^b		LIB IV
c4^b			c7^a	27	
c5^a	25		c6^b		
c5^b			c6^a	26	
d1^a	31		d8^b		Collates [d]^8 (± 4, 5)
d1^b			d8^a	38	
d2^a	32		d7^b		
d2^b			d7^a	37	
d3^a	33		d6^b		
d3^b			d6^a	36	
±d4^a	34		±d5^b		
±d4^b			±d5^a	35	
e1^a	39		e10^b		Collates [e]^{10}
e1^b			e10^a	48	
e2^a	40		e9^b		
e2^b			e9^a	47	
e3^a	41		e8^b		
e3^b			e8^a	46	
e4^a	42		e7^b		
e4^b			e7^a	45	
e5^a	43		e6^b		
e5^b			e6^a	44	
f1^a	49		f10^b		Collates [f]^{10} (± 4, 7)
f1^b			f10^a	58	
f2^a	50		f9^b		
f2^b			f9^a	57	
f3^a	51		f8^b		
f3^b			f8^a	56	
± f4^a	52		± f7^b(v)		
± f4^b			± f7^a(v)	55	

(cont.)

Sig.	Fol.	Notes	Sig.	Fol.	Notes
f5ᵃ	53		f6ᵇ		
f5ᵇ			f6ᵃ	54	
g1ᵃ	59		g7ᵇ		Collates [g]$^{6+1}$ (+6)
g1ᵇ			g7ᵃ	65	
			+g6ᵇ		+g6ᵇ
			+g6ᵃ	64	
g2ᵃ	60		g5ᵇ		
g2ᵇ			g5ᵃ	63	
g3ᵃ	61		g4ᵇ		
g3ᵇ			g4ᵃ	62	
h1ᵃ	66		h2ᵇ	blank	Collates [h]^2
h1ᵇ			h2ᵃ	67	
i1ᵃ	68	LIB. V	I8ᵇ		Collates [i]^8 (± 4, 5)
i1ᵇ			i8ᵃ	75	
i2ᵃ	69		i7ᵇ		
i2ᵇ			i7ᵃ	74	
i3ᵃ	70		i6ᵇ		
i3ᵇ			i6ᵃ	73	
±i4ᵃ	71		±i5ᵇ		
±i4ᵇ			±i5ᵃ	72	
k1ᵃ	76		k6ᵇ		Collates [k]^6
k1ᵇ			k6ᵃ	81	
k2ᵃ	77		k5ᵇ		
k2ᵇ			k5ᵃ	80	
k3ᵃ	78		k4ᵇ		
k3ᵇ			k4ᵃ	79	
l1ᵃ	82	Lib. VI	l10ᵇ		Collates [l]^{10}
l1ᵇ			l10ᵃ	91	
l2ᵃ	83		l9ᵇ		
l2ᵇ			l9a	90	
l3ᵃ	84		l8ᵇ		

Sig.	Fol.	Notes	Sig.	Fol.	Notes
l3^b			l8^a	89	
l4^a	85		l7^b		
l4^b			l7a	88	
l5^a	86		l6^b		
l5^b			l6^a	87	
m1^a	92		m10^b		Collates [m]^{10} ($\pm$5, 6)
m1^b		m1^b	m10^a	101	
m2^a	93	last red para marks	m9^b		
m2^b			m9^a	100	
m3^a	94		m8^b		
m3^b			m8^a	99	
m4^a	95		m7^b		
m4^b			m7^a	98	
$\pm$m5^a	96		$\pm$m6^b		
$\pm$m5^b			$\pm$m6^a	97	
n1^a	102		n10^b		Collates [n]^{10} ($\pm$3, 8)
n1^b			n10^a	111	
n2^a	103		n9^b		
n2^b			n9^a	110	
$\pm$n3^a	104		$\pm$n8^b		
$\pm$n3^b			$\pm$n8^a	109	
n4^a	105		n7^b		
n4^b			n7^a	108	
n5^a	106		n6^b		
n5^b			n6^a	107	
o1^a	112		o10^b		Collates [o]^{10}
o1^b			o10^a	121	
o2^a	113		o9^b		
o2^b			o9^a	120	
o3^a	114		o8^b		
o3^b			o8^a	119	
o4^a	115		o7^b		
o4^b			o7^a	118	

(cont.)

Sig.	Fol.	Notes	Sig.	Fol.	Notes
o5^a	116	o5a	o6^b		
p1^a	122		p10^b		Collates [p]^{10}
p1^b			p10^a	131	
p2^a	123		p9^b		
p2^b			p9^a	130	
p3^a	124		p8^b		
p3^b			p8^a	129	
p4^a	125		p7^b		
p4^b			p7^a	128	
p5^a	126		p6^b		
p5^b			p6^a	127	
q1^a	132		q8^b	blank	Collates [q]^8
q1^b			q8^a	139	
q2^a	133		q7^b		
q2^b			q7^a	138	
q3^a	134		q6^b		
q3^b			q6^a	137	
q4^a	135		q5^b		
q4^b			q5^a	136	
r1^a	140	LIB VII	r10^b		Collates [r]^{10} (±5, 6)
r1^b			r10^a	149	
r2^a	141		r9^b		
r2^b			r9^a	148	
r3^a	142		r8^b		
r3^b			r8^a	147	
±r4^a	143		±r7^b		
±r4^b			±r7^a	146	
r5^a	144		r6^b		
r5^b			r6^a	145	
			+s11^b	blank	Collates s^{11} (+11) or (+10)
			+s11^a	160	colophon

Sig.	Fol.	Notes	Sig.	Fol.	Notes
s1^a	150		s10^b		
s1^b			s10^a	159	
s2^a	151		s9^b		
s2^b			s9^a	158	
s3^a	152		s8^b		
s3^b			s8^a	157	
s4^a	153		s7^b		
s4^b			s7^a	156	
s5^a(v)	154		s6^b(v)		
s5^b(v)		LIB VIII	s6^a(v)	155	

Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, Printed at Subiaco in 1467[1]

Before the vague traces in two copies of the Gutenberg Bible were recognised as compositors' marks by Mayumi Ikeda in 2012,[2] the manuscript used by the printers which is still at the Benedictine monastery of Santa Scholastica in Subiaco was known as the earliest known example of marked-up printer's copy.[3] In the abbey's library it can be seen alongside a copy of the printed edition. In an exemplary and very detailed study published in 1980, Carla Frova and Massimo Miglio compared the two sources, both in relation to the tradition of the text and in the context of other works known to be printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz.[4] After providing a codicological description of the manuscript, they demonstrated that before it was handed to compositors the text was extensively and carefully corrected throughout; apart from substantive corrections, punctuation was revised, and there were marks to indicate the need for space for rubrics, initials and Lombards, which were all to be filled in by hand once the book was printed. Frova-Miglio then described the markings in the manuscript, which were made by compositors at more than one phase of the production process.[5] They distinguished different hands, and hence

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1 Aurelius Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*. [Subiaco, in the types of Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz], 12 June 1467. fol. GW 2874, ISTC ia01230000.

2 Mayumi Ikeda, 'Two Gutenberg Bibles Used as Compositor's Exemplars', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 106 (2012), pp. 357–372. See also no. 1 in the List of printer's copy, pp. 67–68.

3 MS Sublacense XLII. The manuscript was recognised as printer's copy as early as 1877 by Dom Leone Allodi in his catalogue of the manuscripts at Subiaco, the manuscript of which is preserved in the library at the monastery. It is quoted by Frova and Miglio (see n. 4 below), pp. 245–246.

4 Carla Frova and Massimo Miglio, 'Dal MS. Sublacense XLII all' *editio princeps* del "De civitate Dei" di Sant'Agostino (Hain 2046)', in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Vatican City, 1980), pp. 245–273, Tav. 16–20. This study was summarised by Miglio in his 'Il nero sulla carta bianca ovvero l'anello di Angelica', in Miglio and Rossini (eds.), *Gutenberg e Roma*, pp. 22–28 (p. 23), with illustrations of the figures and a few of the inscriptions in the manuscript.

5 The manuscript was illustrated as a specimen of printer's exemplar by Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 34–37. On p. 35 the printing house

drew the conclusion that copy had been divided and that at least part of the work was carried out concurrently by different individuals. They noted several corrections and muddles in the annotation, implying that the work had not always been as regular and smooth as one might expect from the very regular result. They drew attention to one type of marking which is unique to this document and occurs in about 100 pages of the manuscript, corresponding to about 75 in the printed book: notes which in abbreviated form indicate days of the week with the addition 'a.p.' or 'p.p.' for 'ante prandium' and 'post prandium'. Without going into detail, the authors surmised that the notes identified compositors' stints and that progress had been very slow. Finally, they noted some manuscript corrections to the printed text, which were uniform in the seven copies they examined at the Vatican Library and in libraries in Rome. They discussed the long-standing tradition that the book was printed by monks of the abbey who had been taught by Sweynheym and Pannartz. By the time the Augustine was completed in June 1467 the two printers might have already departed for Rome, where their presence is documented in November of the same year.[6] They found confirmation that monks at the abbey had indeed learned to print, and that printing materials remained there after the departure of Sweynheym and Pannartz, in a letter written from Subiaco in 1471 by Benedetto Zwink de Ettal to Lorenzo Grüber, abbot of Göttweig, in which he proposed to print a breviary for the Benedictine congregation, making use of the skills and experience as well as the materials still available at Subiaco.

To this well-documented and illustrated study I had very little to add when I paid an all-too-brief visit to the monastery in 1985, but I sought clarification on two points: the order of typesetting, and whether from the notes of the weekdays on which the compositors worked on about a quarter of the book, the actual time it took to produce this section might be calculated. The mechanics

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annotation in small script 'liber ter[9]' is just visible, as are many small editorial corrections. On p. 36 a cross for casting off is just visible in the left-hand margin of the manuscript (l. 32), and in the right-hand margin is the compositor's double line marking his actual page-end. Opposite, on p. 37, Wilson illustrated the corresponding full page in print, observing that a syllable break-over had been avoided by contracting 'di||uina' in the manuscript to 'diuīa' in the printed edition. Also illustrated in *Gutenberg e Roma* (see n. 4 above), p. 32.

6   A note in the copy of the Subiaco Augustine, now in the BnF (CIBN A-675), states that it was bought in Rome in November 1467 from the German printers 'living in Rome'. BMC IV, p. 2, quotes the inscription: 'Hunc librum de ciuitate Dei emit sibi et Georgio nepoti suo Leonardus Dathus, episcopus Massanus, de propria pecunia, aureis octo et grossis duobus papalibus, ab ipsis Theutonicis Romae commorantibus, qui huiusmodi libros innumeros Non scribere sed formare solent. Anno salutis M.CCCC.LXVII. mense Nouembrio'.

of production had not been the focus of the Frova-Miglio study. What follows is therefore partly based on the observations published by Frova and Miglio, and partly on my own interpretation and limited observations made when I enjoyed the hospitality of the monastery during some five or six hours spent with the manuscript and a copy of the printed book, which had remained in the place where it was printed.

The press that operated in the monastery at Subiaco for about two years starting in 1465 was the first to be located outside the German lands; its two named masters, Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, were clerics of, respectively, the dioceses of Mainz and Cologne, and they had chosen as their basis a monastic community that since the late thirteenth century had been preponderantly German.[7] The Augustine edition is the last of the books printed at Subiaco, preceded first by a Donatus known only from a record but of which no copy survives, a later undated Cicero, *De oratore*, and Lactantius, *Opera*, with the date 29 October 1465.[8] The final book of the press at Subiaco, the *editio princeps* of *De civitate Dei*, is striking in its majestic regularity, which does not betray anything of the confusion witnessed by the compositors' notes in its exemplar. It is printed on Royal paper, in folio format, and consists of 269 leaves in a fairly regular quire structure, collating

$$[*^{10} **^{4-2}(\text{-3, 4}); \text{a–k}^{10}, \text{l}^{12} \text{ m–p}^{10} \text{ q}^{10+1} (+11) \text{ r–v}^{10} \text{ x}^{10-1} (-7) \text{ y z A}^{10} \text{ B}^8 \text{ C}^{6+1} (+7)].[9]$$

The table of rubrics ($[*^{10}, **1,2]$), and the text are printed over two columns. Leaves $[**]$ 3 and 4 were presumably blank.

The manuscript, on paper, dates from the mid-fifteenth century and is written in two regular hands. The first hand wrote leaves 1–78 and 181–230 in a

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7   Barbara Frank, 'Subiaco, Ein Reformkonvent des späten Mittelalters: Zur Verfassung und Zusammensetzung der Sublacenser Mönchsgemeinschaft in der Zeit von 1362 bis 1514', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 52 (1972), pp. 526–656. It should be well understood that the Benedictine abbey of Subiaco consisted of two communities, Santa Scholastica and Sacro Speco, which formed 'unum corpus, unum capitulum, et unum conventum'. See also n. 16 below for a reference to subsequent studies by Uwe Israel.

8   GW 6742, ISTC ic00654000, with a note with the date 30 Sept. 1465 in the copy now at Moscow; ISTC il00001000, GW M16541.

9   In the exemplar the quires which became the preliminaries were designated with a sequence beginning with 'a' for the page with prologue and the beginning of Book I, but in the collation sequence followed in BMC IV, p. 2, and in Frova-Miglio, p. 263, the first two quires with preliminary matter are designated with asterisks. GW 2874 designated the two preliminary quires with the letters a and b.

fere-humanistica the second hand, characterised by Frova-Miglio as 'gotico-cursiva d'area tedesca', wrote leaves 78–180 and 231 to the end. The manuscript consisted originally of 342 leaves, but the first six leaves are torn out, the remaining stubs showing that they contained the beginning of the text. If there had been a table of rubrics, no trace of it survives. The numbering of the leaves is modern, beginning with the first leaf now present. The transition of the two hands between leaves 180 and 181 coincides with the beginning of Book XV corresponding to page [o]3ᵃ in the printed book. Textual copy preparation left clear traces: there are numerous corrections, many of them interlinear in tiny writing, possibly made in preparation for printing, for they are included in the printed text.[10] Throughout there are smudges of printer's ink and some offsets of furniture of the formes.

There are numerous marks made during the production of the printed book, casting off, marks made by compositors upon completion of a page, and also an unusual number of 'messages' left by the compositors. They must have been written in various phases of production, and the work of individuals can be distinguished by the style of their notes, resulting in four groups:

1. [a] 1–[f] (ms. fol. 1–81, 60 leaves in print [72 if including the table of rubrics])
2. [g]1–[o3ᵇ] (beginning on fol. 82ʳ of the manuscript, 75 leaves in print)
3. [o]3 verso–[q]11 (beginning on fol. 181ʳ of the manuscript, 28 leaves in print)
4. [r]1–[C]⁶⁺¹ (beginning on fol. 222ᵛ of the manuscript, 94 leaves in print).

The distinct features of the marking-up of the manuscript are:

Section 1.   page-ends are indicated with crosses and lines in the margin in drypoint or in pen and ink; from 23ᵛ, l. 30 (corresponding to the end of [c]1ᵇ), the actual page-end is almost always indicated by a stroke within the line. The numbers of the pages within a quire are marked in the margin with an Arabic numeral within a circle. Columns are not marked. On fol. 67ʳ the beginning of quire [f] is marked as 'Sextus'.

Section 2.   notes marking in words the beginning of a quire but not corresponding exactly to the actual beginning, e.g. 'qu*aternus* i*n*cipit g'. Where the beginning of the quire deviated from the actual

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10   The corrections listed as examples by Frova-Miglio are present in the copy in the BL.

beginning, markings of the quires are corrected by circling the wrong entry. The letter of the quire (which is the same as in the collation above) is written at the top of most pages. The page numbers in the quire are identified in clearly written words. Page-ends are marked by drypoint lines and crosses in the margin, and strokes within the line. Marginal notes indicate the weekday and the time of day, e.g. 'lu.p p' (Dies lunae post prandium).

Section 3.   in quire [o], from 03ᵇ on, the marginal notes are different, using Arabic figures to indicate the pages within the quire, e.g. '6ᵃ o', '7ᵃ o' (i.e. the sixth and seventh pages of quire [o]) continuing to '9ᵃ o' and '1[–]ᵃ o' (the zero for 'ten' in Arabic figures is cropped). Days of the week and time are noted, as in section II. There is confusion, deletion, and correction in the marking for the beginning of quire [p], e.g. 'Qu*aternus* incipit p' is deleted. Also, the beginning of [q] is marked at the beginning of a chapter, but in fact it begins earlier.

Section 4.   The beginning of quire [r] is marked with the note on fol. 222ᵛ, 'Qu*aternus* incipit r'. The same page has the note 'f̄c̄m [factum] e*st* ex isto loco'. A sequence of Arabic numerals marks the pages within the quires, the hand being different from the hand(s?) in section III. There are no notes on days of the week and time.

From these observations it is possible to arrive at a summary outline of the production process. First there was an editorial process: the text of the manuscript was rigorously corrected throughout by an anonymous corrector in a single continuous operation. Particular care was also given to capitalisation and punctuation, as evidenced by the note (fol. 201ʳ) 'usque hic est punctatum', and little half-circles which indicated where a capital was required. Further detailed copy preparation was carried out either at the same time, or after it but before the text was handed over to compositors: marks were made throughout to improve the structural presentation of the text, indicating where space had to be left open for the titles of the 22 books into which Augustine's text is divided, and the initials that were to be painted at their beginnings. Marginal notes indicate the number of some of the books, and of chapters within the books. The two-line Lombards which were to be filled in at the beginning of each chapter (or rubric) into which the books are divided were already represented by simple rubrication in the manuscript.

It is possible that as part of this preparatory exercise the table of rubrics was drawn up; the usual practice was to print the table last of all, but there is no clear evidence that this was the case here. The table of this Augustine edition

was given an exceptionally elaborate form, but it does not refer to leaves. The rubrics listed are not found in the printed text, and no space is left open for them to be filled in. The title is followed by the number of the chapter (which is printed in the text) and the first words of the text, as, for example, the first two rubrics in Liber I:

1. [D]E aduersariis nomīs x': quibus ī uas⸗||tatōe urbis ꝓpter xр̄m barbari pep⸗ || cerūt uictis. Capľm ꝑ̇mū. Gľosissimā. [*The chapter in the text begins*]: [G]loriosissimā ciuitatem dei ...
2. Quod nulla unquā bella ita gesta sunt: ut || uictořs propter deos eoꝝ quos uicerāt: parcerēt uictis. Cap.scđm. Tot bella. [*The chapter in the text begins*]: Tot bella gestaꝗ cōscripta sunt

Whereas textual and presentational preparation are consistent throughout the whole book, it is evident that the casting off of the text in order to estimate its size or to mark pages off for the compositors was not carried out in one sequence, but after divisions of the exemplar had taken place. The evidence lies in the different systems and styles of marking up in the four groups listed above. An obvious place to divide the manuscript is between leaves 180 and 181—where hand B appears for the second time—at the beginning of Book XV, which is also the beginning of a quire in the manuscript. This leads to a not quite equal division of 186/156 leaves of the manuscript (including the six leaves now lost at the beginning), and 135/122 leaves in the printed book (not including the table of rubrics). This accounts for the division between sections I–II and III–IV distinguished above.

The division between sections 1 and 2, and later sections 3 and 4, marked up in different systems and styles is not so straightforward. Their individual marks show, however, that casting off was carried out by individuals for each section, with varying degrees of accuracy and success. Within what is likely to have been the first half of the exemplar, leaves 1–180, two sections are distinct. From the beginning of the setting of quire [g], 60 leaves into the printed text (or 72 leaves if the Tabula is included) it is clear that the job was taken over by a new pair of hands (section 2, above). Within the second part of the exemplar, the note 'f*actum ex isto loco*' is found on fol. 222ᵛ, where quire [r] in the printed book begins, coinciding with the beginning of Book XVII. This can be understood as a 'message', indicating that from here on type was set, before quires [o]–[q] (section 3, above) were completed. It suggests that this final part of the text, consisting of quires [r]–[C], in all 94 leaves, was set concurrently with the first half of the book. If this is the case, section 3, 28 leaves with distinct features in the marking up, was probably printed last of all, filling a gap. If a new, perhaps

inexperienced compositor came in as quire [o] was in progress, we may find an explanation for the confusion and many corrections in quire [p]. By the time quire [q] was reached, things seem to have calmed down. The larger size of quire [q]$^{10+1}$ may be taken as clear evidence that a section of text (Book XVI) had to be completed to fit before quire [r], which was already completed. The solution was simply to add a leaf at the end. The transition between quires [q] and [r] in the printed book is seamless, with the regular number of 44 lines in all four columns in the final leaf.

Even with Frova-Miglio's recorded observations and my own notes, I do not wish to hazard a guess at a detailed reconstruction of all the miscalculations made in the casting off which have left traces in the exemplar. That the printed result is remarkably regular, largely sequential quires in tens without visible variation in density of typesetting, is due to the fact that the progress through the text within the four sections was seriatim, page after page in the reading sequence of the text. This is evidenced beyond doubt by the many instances where a page ends in the middle of a line of the exemplar, marked there by a small stroke in the line. A compositor would not be constrained by the need to end a page at a point where a previous page had already been set in type and possibly printed. There are only a few exceptions, due to division of copy and division of work. The few deviations from the quire structure of 10 leaves, in quires [l]^{12}, [q]$^{10+1}$, and [x]$^{10-1}$, may be connected to the changeover that was either due to take place or had just taken place. The larger size of [l]^{12} came towards the end of section II and the first half of the exemplar, and appears to be a controlled form of copy-fitting. The explanation for the larger size of [q]$^{10+1}$ is surmised above. In [x]$^{10-1}$, the omission of a leaf must be the repair of a miscalculation, for on fol. 279^r a previously counted leaf is marked in the exemplar as 'superfluum'.

Of the many annotations in the exemplar, the most unusual are the marginal notes consisting of abbreviated days of the week and hours of the day as 'ante prandium' or 'post prandium', presumably recording when pages were set. They are (to date) unknown in any other specimen of early printer's copy. They would offer invaluable information on the progress of work in actual time, if they had been in any way representative of the regular routine of a printing house. In fact, they are proof of the contrary—they vividly demonstrate that the progress of the production of the Subiaco Augustine (or at least of its middle sections, quires [g] to [q]), was not regular at all. By setting out the 10 notes recording the time for the setting of quire [g], the first quire in which they occur (on fol. 82^r–92^r in the exemplar), the irregularity of the intervals of time in which the work was carried out shows that they do not relate to the distance between the pages in the text, whether they were set seriatim or in a different sequence:

Quire [g]

Leaf	Page	
1 recto	1	mar a p
1 verso	2	
2 recto	3	Mer.a. p
2 verso	4	
3 recto	5	sa. a. p.
3 verso	6	
4 recto	7	mar a. p
4 verso	8	
5 recto	9	lu p p
5 verso	10	
6 recto	11	
6 verso	12	
7 recto	13	
7 verso	14	lu p p
8 recto	15	
8 verso	16	Io p p
9 recto	17	lu p p
9 verso	18	lu p p
10 recto	19	Io p p
10 verso	20	

Only at the beginning of this quire, and of this compositor's stint, is there a possibly consecutive and uninterrupted sequence of weekdays: 1 recto, 'mar' (Tuesday); 2 recto = page 3 'Mer' (Wednesday). But the first page of the third sheet was not set until 'sa' (Saturday).[11] The page-endings are all irregular in relation to casting off, except those of pages 4 and 11.

If taken as a consecutive sequence, the setting of the quire would have taken at least five weeks. It follows that there would have been an interval of at least five weeks between the setting and printing of pages 1 and 2, of the quire, and of conjugate pages 19 and 20.

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11   There is no mark for Sundays, which presumably would have been 'do'. Obviously, the compositors did not work on Sundays.

There is, however, some apparent regularity in that in the first half of the quire the notes all refer to recto pages. This is consistently the case in the two other quires for which I recorded the notes, quires [k]¹⁰ and [l]¹², with nine such notes in each. In quire [k]¹⁰ the notes refer without exception to recto pages; in quire [l]¹² the first leaf is the only exception to this rule, with page 1: 'Mer a.p.', and page 2: 'Lu a.p.'. In so far as one may hazard a conclusion on this uncertain ground, it is that the compositors went through the text seriatim, and that the unit in which they usually worked was a consecutive recto and verso of a leaf. The production of quire [k] seems also to have stretched over about five weeks.¹²

Although there is room for diverse interpretation, there is sufficient evidence that there was no attempt to produce the book with anything resembling efficiency in terms of time. Instead, the many messages and notes suggest that what we see here are traces left by a community of people working together, but working at irregular intervals, probably when other tasks permitted. They ensured that they could take over work from each other in an efficient manner by signposting what they had done. Occasionally there is a tone of instruction—'quarto folio incipiendum est'—whereas the unusual notes of weekdays may suggest immaturity, not necessarily in age but lack of confidence, if not with the technique, perhaps in being part of a small team. Most of all they may be expressions of accountability in a community where the equal division of work was an essential part of living according to monastic rule.¹³ It must also be noted that 'ante prandium' and 'post prandium' is a remarkably secular way of indicating time in a community living by the canonical hours.

Frova and Miglio discussed the question, often raised, of whether the Augustine edition should really be considered the work of Sweynheym and Pannartz, although it is indubitably printed in their printing types, or whether it might be the work of monks done after the departure of the two printers we know by name.¹⁴ They draw attention to its layout of two columns of 44 lines each, which

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12   Frova-Miglio (see n. 4 above) also calculated that the setting of a one-page forme would have taken half a day, and reckoned that the completion of a quire (20 pages or formes) would have taken 32 days.

13   Frank, 'Subiaco, Ein Reformkonvent' (see n. 7 above), observes that all monks were expected to share in domestic work in kitchen and house as well as in the fields.

14   Between the completion of the Subiaco Augustine on 12 June and its purchase by Leonardus Dathus in Rome from Sweynheym and Pannartz in November of the same year (see n. 6 above), about five months elapsed, which seems plenty of time for a move to Rome. Also, Dathus's note may imply that he was under the impression that the book was printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz. Dathus's note, however, may be taken as a sign that Sweynheym and Pannartz had some form of commercial interest in the Augustine. The two

is not in the style preferred by Sweynheym and Pannartz, who printed in the style of Italian humanism, with long lines. The two-column layout of the Augustine belongs to the stylistic tradition of German books, in particular those in large-folio format. The Germanic character of the Subiaco Augustine is accentuated by the terms in which the date is given in the colophon: the year is 1467, the third year of the papacy of Pope Paulus II, to which is added 'the third year of the reign of Emperor Friedrich III'. The colophon ends: 'DEO GRATIAS / GOD .AL.', which has been interpreted as 'God Almechtig' or, equally Germanic, the name 'God[efridus?] Al[emannus]'.[15] The German elements combine with the unusually varied and rich annotation in the exemplar to strengthen the argument that the Augustine was produced after Sweynheym and Pannartz had left Subiaco and departed for Rome, and that it is indeed the work of the community of monks who still strongly felt their German roots and preferred to give the book a traditional German style. The proportion of monks of transalpine, mainly German, origin in the abbey of Subiaco was unusually large, as happens to be documented for the year 1464.[16] The books produced by Sweynheym and Pannartz, the two printers no less German in origin, consistently show their acculturation through their choice of layout and printing type, all conforming to the style of Italian humanism.

Almost every printed book is the result of people working together, but in this particular case we may sense that here are people *learning* to work together, and venturing out on a novel enterprise, perhaps setting out without the support of the printers who had first taught them typesetting and printing, but necessarily leaving them to find out how to organise the work for a large book. Between them, they produced an influential version of the ancient text, in a magnificent book, a severe-looking example of the discipline that had to be

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printers had completed in Rome before the end of the year 1467 a substantial book, Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, with the colophon-date 1467 (GW 6799, ISTC ic00503500). It is a quarto of 246 leaves, printed in a newly cast type. Even efficient printers would have taken a considerable amount of time to produce this result.

15   BMC IV, p. 2 (reprint) refers to A. Schmidt's interpretation as 'God Almechtig'. F. Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*, vol. II (Stuttgart, 1970), p. 28, interprets the letters as the initials of the name God[efridus?] Alemannus, possibly that of a corrector or someone else who led the production of the book after Sweynheym and Pannartz had moved to Rome.

16   Uwe Israel quotes the document dated 1464 that lists 18 monks in Subiaco with the right to vote, of whom only two were Italians, the others being from Swabia, France, Flanders, Holland, Saxony, Switzerland, Austria, and Alsace. See his 'Romnähe und Klosterreform, oder Warum die erste Druckerpresse Italiens in der Benediktinerabtei Subiaco stand', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 88 (2006), pp. 279–296 (pp. 292–293). I am grateful to Dr Falk Eisermann for drawing my attention to Professor Israel's studies.

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maintained in a printing house to create such a result—its manuscript exemplar the only witness that at times it had indeed been a struggle to achieve it. 'I think that you will allow that there is no *romancing* in all this …' Henry Bradshaw once wrote.[17] To counter any such inclination we may unromantically observe that the skills the monks acquired in order to accomplish this feat remained thereafter apparently unused. At least, no trace of later printing at Subiaco survives.

What survives is a document, found in the cover of a manuscript in the abbey of Melk. It is a *Memoriale*, or memorandum, written in 1471 by 'Benedictus de Bavaria, monachus sacri loci Specus sancti Benedicti' and addressed 'ad venerabilem patrem et dominum abbatem Laurentium in Gotwico'. Dr Barbara Frank, who brought this document to light in 1971, explains that Melk was one of the abbeys which initiated the Benedictine reform movement in the fifteenth century, to which Göttweig also belonged, and their religious observations were close to those of Subiaco.[18] She identified the sender as Benedetto Zwink of Ettal, known at Subiaco as Benedictus de Bavaria. He had been a monk in the abbey of Ettal in Bavaria before he moved in 1457 to Sacro Speco in Subiaco, where he is documented in 1458 and 1477. In 1492 he was elected abbot of Ettal. In the document found in Melk he addressed in particular the 'unio religionis' between the major Benedictine abbeys north of the Alps, in southern Germany and Austria, and the abbeys in Monte Cassino and Subiaco; this was part of a larger movement for unifying even more congregations of the Benedictine order.[19] In 1470 the Chapter of Salzburg decided that if such a union were to be realised, all the abbeys belonging to it should observe the liturgy according to the rites of Rome, which were also those of Sacro Speco in Subiaco. Benedictus de Bavaria saw how to execute this principle practically. Producing liturgical works in print was the obvious way to provide abbeys hundreds of miles apart with identical texts for the divine service. In his *Memoriale* of 1471 he therefore proposed that the first step to achieve liturgical union would be to print a breviary according to the observance of Rome. He was quite specific: '… if

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17   When trying to reconstruct the cause of the irregularities in the *Ovide moralisé* produced by Colard Mansion at the dramatic end of his career as printer. Letter to J.W. Holtrop, written in Bruges, 6 October 1866. See Wytze and Lotte Hellinga (eds.), *Henry Bradshaw's Correspondence on Incunabula with J.W. Holtrop, and M.F.A.G. Campbell*, vol. 1, (Amsterdam, 1966), p. 112.

18   Barbara Frank, 'Tipografia monastica sublacense: Per una confederazione benedettina', *Il Sacro Speco*, 74 (1971), pp. 69–72. The document was found in the library of the abbey of Melk in the binding of Ms 91.

19   Israel, 'Romnähe', see n. 16 above.

not every monastery is in a position to buy or procure breviaries, they can be 'written' with letters on presses, just as we have 'written' two hundred copies of Augustinus De Civitate Dei, in the form I enclose. We have the skilled people and the machinery here in the monastery of Sacro Speco. If a religious union will include us, all the books (i.e. copies of the breviary) whatever the quantity, can be printed by five brethren trained in this skill, and can be distributed over all the monasteries who in their turn have joined the union'.[20]

Frank concludes that since the proposed union of the abbeys was not realised, the breviary was not printed. We are perhaps not quite on such certain ground: the survival of liturgical works is precarious, many disappeared for good, and the monks at Subiaco may have produced printed works which have not been preserved for posterity. But Benedictus's *Memoriale* certainly provides additional background for the progress of work, which we can observe in the notes and marks in the manuscript. Perhaps Benedict had a leading role in the production of *De Civitate Dei*, an enterprise of which he seems to have had detailed knowledge. Be that as it may, he expressed in the *Memoriale* the conviction that acquiring skills in printing can be used to serve the common good, by spreading the word far beyond the community—'dilatare' in his own telling term for the powerful action of the printing press. It is this conviction that launched the monks on the steep learning curve, and the test of endurance and discipline that resulted in their beautiful book.

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20   Freely translated from the passage quoted from the *Memoriale* by Barbara Frank: '… si non omnia monasteria sint in puncto ad comparandum et ordinandum breviaria, tunc facile centum vel ducenta volumina possunt scribi in quacumque littera in torcularibus, sicut et nos scripsimus ducenta volumina sancti Augustini De Civitate Dei, in ista forma scripture, quam mittam. Et artem in instrumentis et personis habemus in monasterio sacri Specus. Eius in casu posito, quo se talis unio religionis dilataret, usque ad nos, per quinque fratres, qui istam artem addiscerent, omnes libros, quotquot essent, per omnia monasteria sibi invicem coniuncta possent scribi et dilatari'.

Poggio's *Facetiae* in Print

The respectable part of Poggio Bracciolini's fame as a humanist scholar is based on his discoveries of early manuscripts of classical texts in France, the Rhineland, and Switzerland in the first half of the fifteenth century, and equally on the beautiful script in which he copied them. Not long after his death in 1459, his revival of the Carolingian minuscule script evolved into the roman printing type, which was initially associated with humanist learning and classical texts. His excellent skills as a scribe first earned him a place among the scribes in the papal Curia, whence he was promoted to the top post of apostolic secretary. In this function he developed his epistolary talents and his lifelong concern for promoting a pure form of classical Latin. But Latin was also the spoken *lingua franca* that enabled him to communicate on his many official travels, or later when he served Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and lived in England for five years, as well as during most of his lifetime when out hunting for manuscripts of classical texts in the monasteries of Langres, Cluny, Monte Cassino, Fulda, and St Gall. This experience convinced him that Latin could be used as a living language and need not always be encumbered by the strict rules on which humanist grammarians insisted.

By way of demonstration, or perhaps exploration, Poggio chose to record in Latin the jokey anecdotes and scurrilous stories that were swapped in the anterooms of the papal secretariat. His individual style, sparse but elegant, was close to classical Latin and avoided the ornamentation that at the time was customary in courtly language. In the *Facetiae* (or witticisms and jests) he collected, the language is precise but the tone conversational, since the unifying theme of the collection is to report as if in direct speech the anecdotes exchanged in the *bugiale*, or *Officina Mendicatorum*, 'the lie-factory', as he called it in a short epilogue. If perhaps not precisely reflecting words as spoken among the scribes and secretaries in the apostolic antechambers, it was a conscious attempt to use Latin in a non-literary style, to be associated with the contemporary use of vernacular language in daily discourse. The facetiae are further enlivened by the quotations of direct speech at many different social levels. We are made to hear what the subjects of the jests had to say ('ait', 'inquit', 'rogabat', 'narravit'): historical individuals such as Dante, the emperor Sigismund, the condottiere Redolphus, popes, cardinals, and bishops. Some of them also made far from facetious appearances in Poggio's *Historia florentina*. The main population of the *Facetiae*, Venetians, many Florentines, Bolognese, and other citizens of numerous

Italian cities, stupid priests and doctors, merchants, Jews, and many wives and widows, range from Bruges and Rouen to Hungary, reflecting the cosmopolitan experience of the papal secretaries. The repartee and witticisms uttered by the very diverse speakers are repeated as direct quotations (all in Latin) by the erudite company in the *bugiale*, presumably in the appropriate accents.

Once made public in circulating manuscripts, around 1438, the *Facetiae* rapidly became very popular, earning Poggio the less respectable part of his fame.[1] The obscenity of many of the facetiae provoked scandalised objections, which do not seem to have disturbed Poggio himself (although they were felt by many scholars after him).[2] But he was highly sensitive to criticism of his linguistic skills. His old enemy Lorenzo Valla insulted Poggio by making disparaging remarks about the quality of his Latin. Poggio responded in 1452 in his *Invectiva in Laurentium Vallam*, in which in the full flow of outraged rhetoric he claimed: 'My Facetiae were circulated all through Italy, France, Spain, Germany and England, read by all such who understand Latin, and approved by all men of letters'. The date 1452 means, of course, that we can be certain that Poggio's text enjoyed its international circulation in manuscript, not in print. We shall see that the subsequent dissemination of the text in print is based on a variety of manuscript sources. If Poggio was boasting, it was just a little.

When printing did arrive, Poggio's claim met even fuller justification: despite professed outrage about the bawdiness of the *Facetiae*, thousands of copies appeared in print over a short period of time. The transmission in print begins with a cluster of editions around 1470, and as many as 11 printed editions which had been published by the mid-1470s have survived to the present day. Popular demand for the text in Latin diminished somewhat in the mid-1480s, when translations of the full text began to appear in Italian, later followed by ones in

1 E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus, Leben und Werke* [Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 14] (Berlin, 1914), p. 263 and n. 1, citing letters in which Poggio mentions the *Facetiae*, with the earliest dated 26 October 1438. Étienne Wolff, Introduction to: Stefano Pittaluga and Étienne Wolff (eds.), *Le Pogge, Facéties / Confabulationes: Édition bilingue* [Bibliothèque italienne] (Paris, 2005). (Latin text and notes, including a 'Note philologique', by S. Pittaluga; introduction and translation into French by E. Wolff.)

2 An extensive discussion of Poggio's style and the responses of his contemporaries and later generations to the *Facetiae* can be found in L. Sozzi, 'Le "Facezie" e la loro fortuna Europea', in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980* [Istituto di studi sul Rinascimento. Studi e Testi 8] (Florence, 1982), pp. 235–259. Also Wolff, 'Introduction' (see n. 1 above). Further discussion of the relation to collections of exempla in S. Pittaluga, *Poggio Bracciolini*, Facezie, *introduzione*, *traduzione e note* (Milan, 1995).

French, thus defeating Poggio's original purpose. Although its popularity may have waned a bit by then—even the best jokes can grow tired and old—Latin versions were still reprinted in the late fifteenth century and sporadically in the sixteenth century. The work was considered current enough to be included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* in 1559 because of its disrespect to the clergy. In the early years the *Facetiae* were undoubtedly printed more often than the editions which survive. Almost all those presently known are fairly rare; most were small quarto books, many of them not particularly well printed. This, the avowed disapproval the work encountered, and its later prohibition are all factors which did not favour its survival.

The rapid spread in print of the *Facetiae* from 1470 on reveals a variety of routes by which the text was transmitted, both from manuscript to print and from print to print, depending on patterns of distribution, first of manuscripts, and then of printed versions. At the basis of the present study of this process of transmission are the 31 editions printed in the fifteenth century which are known to survive, listed and arranged in chronological order in Appendix I. The record of a number of textual variants, recorded in Appendix II, resulted in a stemma which shows their far from straightforward interrelationship (see Fig. 6.2 below). The stemma suggests channels of transmission by which versions of the *Facetiae* spread over a large area of Western Europe and as far as central Poland.

Five of the editions derive directly from different manuscript sources. By good fortune the *editio princeps*, printed by Christopher Valdarfer in Venice, c. 1470, includes what is recognised as the final version of the text with the full complement of 273 facetiae, and this version became by far the most influential. No fewer than 25 editions all derive from the *editio princeps*. Their complex interrelationship is a reflection of connections between printing houses and their distribution systems. Textual differences, most of them light emendations and inevitably a few new errors, reveal the derivation of the individual editions. Although the textual coherence of this large group is remarkable, small variants allow the distinction of three main branches along which the editions descended until a stable point was reached in Poggio's collected works, printed in Basel in 1538, in which the *Facetiae* was included.[3] This version was until recently accepted as authoritative.[4] The stemma shows divisions along

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3   In the earliest edition of Poggio's collected works (Strasbourg, Johann Schott for Johann Knoblouch, 1513), the *Facetiae* were not included. I am grateful to Dr John Hodgson for verifying this for me in the copy at the John Rylands University Library.

4   Recent text editions of the Latin version are: Marcello Ciccuto (ed.), *Poggio Bracciolini,*

geographical lines: Italy, France, Eastern Europe, the German lands, and the Low Countries. Only the Iberian Peninsula seems to have prudishly avoided the *Facetiae*, whereas England, as ever, depended on importation. But Caxton translated 14 of Poggio's facetiae, which before him had been translated and expanded successively by Heinrich Steinhöwel and Julien Macho, and attached to their translations of the fables of Aesop into German and French, respectively. Caxton added the translation of a further four facetiae to the collection he found in Julien Macho's version and, taking Poggio as his model, extended it with two stories of his own.[5]

Establishing the priorities of the three editions at the top of the stemma, one printed in Venice by Christopher Valdarfer and the two in Rome by Georg Lauer, required unravelling. Their printing types indicate that they were produced within a short period of time, but dating them on the basis of the founts of type is only partly helpful. Valdarfer's book is printed in his Type 1:110R, which he used in 1470 and 1471.[6] This partly overlaps the period in which Georg Lauer used his Type 1:128R, which was in use only in 1470 and is found in both his *Facetiae* editions.[7] Therefore, if Lauer's first edition preceded Valdarfer's, the Venetian book might be dated '1470–1471'; if, however, Valdarfer's preceded Lauer's, they should all be dated 'c. 1470'. Traditionally, Georg Lauer was considered the printer of the *editio princeps* (with varying preference for either one of his two editions), perhaps because of the location of the printing house in Rome, close to the text's place of origin.[8] Even a preliminary textual comparison indicates

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Fazezie: testo latino a fronte, con un saggio di Eugenio Garin (Milan, 1983), and an edition by Stefano Pittaluga (Milan, 1995), published also in Pittaluga and Wolff (eds.), *Le Pogge* (see n. 1 above). For the present study I have used the edition of 2005. Ciccuto (pp. 52–55) lists 'the most important' early editions, including 22 printed before 1501, without citing sources. He places Valdarfer's edition of 1470 as the earliest. Pittaluga states the number of incunable editions as 34, without citing a source. In his 'Note philologique' (2005, see n. 1 above), he considers (with some reservation) the first of Georg Lauer's editions as the *editio princeps*, in the present study indicated as '*Rome A*'. In the present study I adduce arguments that the edition printed by Chr. Valdarfer is the first, reprinted by Lauer.

5 BMC XI, p. 154, for which I can now provide a more complete list: Caxton's translations include (in order of appearance) Facetiae 1, 6, 43, 2, 31–34, 36, and 79, with the additional translations of 78, 164, 202, and 87. On Caxton's translation, see: Robert H. Wilson, 'The Poggiana in Caxton's Esope', *Philological Quarterly*, 30 (1951), pp. 348–352, and my essay 'From Poggio to Caxton' in the present collection, pp. 254–277.

6 BMC V, p. 182.

7 BMC IV, p. 35.

8 See n. 4 above.

that Lauer's two editions are closely related to Valdarfer's, and that the three must form a sequence of reprints. Of the two editions printed by Lauer, the order of printing presents itself quite clearly: one (from here on *'Rome A'*) consists of 110 leaves in an irregular quire structure and includes an alphabetical index of contents in a separate quire; the other (*'Rome B'*), with 100 leaves, has an entirely regular quire structure of 10 quires of 10 leaves each,[9] and the alphabetical index and beginning of text are both found within the first quire.[10] This is a classical argument in favour of the priority of *Rome A*, later confirmed by an irregularity in *Rome B* where a mishap in the printing house had caused a corruption of the text; this marks all descendants of *Rome B* because it is not found in *Rome A*.

Further comparison of *Venice-Valdarfer* with *Rome A* shows that textually the two editions are indeed extremely close. Differences are mainly found in punctuation and use of capitals. Valdarfer published his in a large-paper quarto format with 29–30 lines to the page, whereas Lauer's edition is a smaller quarto (printed on Chancery paper) with 23 lines to the page. Yet, large sections of the two books, occurring intermittently, have the same line endings. After showing a line-for-line relationship over a number of pages, the two books diverge again, much as compositors usually diverged from the casting off of a manuscript exemplar, where progress through their quires permitted.[11] Such a close relationship cannot be explained by mere coincidence: one edition was obviously printed from a copy of the other. It was, however, not instantly obvious which one had served as exemplar.

To test this I used sets of photocopies of each book; simulating what would have happened in either of the two printing houses, I marked on each set of copies the page-endings of the other book; one of them had to resemble what had actually happened, either in Rome or in Venice. We may assume that for casting off, lines were counted and marked, for counting lines is the only method for casting off so far observed in early printing. As has been invariably the case with early manuscript copy studied so far, a number of page-ends within a quire in the completed book will conform to the casting off, marked

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9   *Rome A* collates [a⁸ b c¹⁰ d⁸ e–h¹⁰ i⁸ k¹⁰ l m⁸]; *Rome B* collates [a–k]¹⁰.

10   The alphabetical index features the same items in the three earliest editions, with references to leaves in roman figures, a figure referring to both recto and verso of the leaf. The leaf references were carefully adapted in each of the three successive editions (Valdarfer, Rome A, Rome B). In the two editions by Creussner, Nuremberg, reprinted from Valdarfer, the alphabetical index is expanded, and within each letter the facetiae are listed in order of appearance (with some errors). Other reprints omitted the index.

11   See p. 53, and chapter 3, nos. 1–16.

at line ends in its exemplar. Conversely, a number of page-ends and line ends will not, depending on the constraints or freedom offered by the order in which pages were set within a quire.

I tried this method first by using a photocopy of *Rome A* as the (assumed) exemplar for *Valdarfer* and 'casting off' quire [b]⁸ in *Venice-Valdarfer* on the copies of this section of text in *Rome A*, marking the page-ends of the Venetian book and then counting the lines separating them. The counted-off lines in *Rome A* varied from 28 to 32 lines for each page of the Venetian book; out of the 16 pages, 6 would have ended as cast off, and 10 would have deviated from the page-ends as counted off. The reverse procedure, *Rome A* using *Venice-Valdarfer* as exemplar, showed a different pattern. I took quire [c]¹⁰ of the Rome edition, since this quire mainly has pages of regular length, with only two captions at page-ends. For 16 of the 20 pages, 23 lines were counted off in *Venice-Valdarfer*; for the 4 others, 24 lines. The pages ended in 12 spots as counted off. This is an almost regular pattern, similar to what is found in manuscript copy, and although not absolute proof, it is convincing enough to assume that *Venice-Valdarfer* was used by Georg Lauer, and that the Venetian book is the *editio princeps*. Lauer turned a book that Valdarfer had presented with generous proportions into an altogether more modest publication.

Subsequent textual collation of the two books brought to light some variant readings between the two editions, offering an independent line of argument which served two purposes. In the first place, the variants supported the order '*Venice-Valdarfer* first, *Rome A* second'. They also served very usefully to distinguish the offspring of both editions: those descending from *Rome A* and those descending from *Venice-Valdarfer*. In themselves the variant readings are not important: on one occasion *Rome A* corrected the Venetian version by the omission of one redundant word which *Venice* must have introduced by eye skip;¹² and on another the word order went wrong in *Rome A* so that a sentence failed to make sense which in the Venetian version vividly described the gestures of a woman who, while being drowned in a well, obstinately persisted in scolding her husband for being ridden with lice.¹³ The same error is found in *Rome B*, which by an additional technical error added its own fingerprint to the text, which thereafter became a distinguishing feature of all the editions derived from it, directly and indirectly.¹⁴

12   See below, Appendix II, Facetia 159.
13   Appendix II, Facetia 59. Variants are also noted in the headings of Facetiae 18 and 168; see Appendix II, headings.
14   See Appendix III.

Bernabo⸱is ad eum fuiſſent.cum intellexiſſet reſponſionem equitis: egreſſum ſuũ uarie excuſantem.non bene inquit neqʒ prudenter reſpõdiſti. Vade redi dic Bernaboui Redolfus ait ſe ideo urbẽ nõ egredi ne tu ĩgredi q̃ ꞅeaſ;

ageret̃ & que uerba Bernabouis ad eũ fuiſſent. cũ intellexiſſet reſpõſionẽ equitis: egreſſum ſuũ excuſantẽ.ñ bñ ĩꝗt ꞅndiſti.uade dic Ber. Redolfus ait ideo urbẽ nõ egredi⸱ne tu ĩgrediaris.

FIGS. 6.1A–B *Poggio,* Facetiae, *Rome, Georg Lauer, c. 1470–1471: the error in the second Rome edition 'Rome-B' when reprinting from the earlier 'Rome-A'. Left: Rome A, fol. [d]2ᵃ. © The British Library Board, IA. 174477. (fragment, reduced). Right: Rome B, fol. [c]7ᵃ (fragment, reduced). The bottom two lines are stamped in, much abbreviated. Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian Collection By. 3. 26. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.*

By reconstructing the material handling of the text in the printing house— the counting off of lines in an exemplar in preparation for typesetting—we can establish a direct line of descent: *Venice-Valdarfer > Rome A > Rome B*. When we compare the two editions printed by Georg Lauer it is clear that from the beginning his intention for the reprint was to reduce the size of the book, although the same printing type was used. The number of leaves was reduced from 110 to 100, in a regular sequence of 10 quires of 10 leaves. We may assume that this regular structure was achieved by careful preparation of an exemplar for the reprint, marking up a copy of his first edition: 25 lines of *Rome A* would be counted off to produce a 23-line page in *Rome B*. This was mainly achieved by more compact typesetting. In addition, the titles of some *Facetiae* were abbreviated to fit onto one line instead of two and became terser. Thus, the title of the third of the facetiae in *Venice* and *Rome A*, 'Bonacii Guasconi qui tam tarde e lecto surgebat', became in *Rome B*, 'De Bonacii pigritantis disputatione'.[15] However, a far deeper mark on the transmission of the text was caused by a mistake made in Lauer's printing house when producing the reprint. The printing of two pages, [c]7ᵇ and [c]8ᵃ (or pages 14 and 15 in quire [c]), was somehow swapped—a common error in early printing houses; the error was papered over by stamping in two lines on [c]7ᵃ, heavily abbreviated, in order to complete the anecdote with its punchline. A disturbed order of the facetiae was apparently deemed to be of no consequence, but the text as presented in *Venice-Valdarfer* and *Rome A* was now corrupted. For details see Appendix III.

A slight error and a clumsy repair, but the effect of these incidents on the transmission of the text is profound, for these combined features distinguish

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15   For further examples, see Appendix II. Wolff ('Introduction', pp. XXIII–XXIV) observed that the titles given to the facetiae are probably not provided by Poggio, but added later by scribes. They serve very well, however, to establish the derivation of the printed editions.

all the printed editions, and also one manuscript which descended from *Rome B*.[16] It will be obvious that all the descendants from *Rome B*, 13 at least, also have *Venice-Valdarfer* and *Rome A* in their ancestry. But among the books printed before 1501, only six descend from *Venice-Valdarfer*, bypassing *Rome A* and *B*, and only three descend directly from *Rome A*. The slightly corrupted version of *Rome B*—caused by a minor slip in the printing house—therefore proves to be the most widely disseminated of the early printed editions.[17]

With these features it is possible to draw up the stemma which expresses the ancestry of 31 editions, all printed in the incunable period. The diagnostic textual variants on which the stemma is based are listed in Appendix II. Apart from those listed, exhaustive collation of the three earliest books would in all likelihood bring more variants to light. Yet it is important to realise that the three earliest editions and most of those that derive from them have much in common. One such feature is that they contain 273 facetiae, with a preface and an epilogue. It is generally assumed that this form is the final phase of the gradual development of the text. In his extensive study of Poggio's life and work, his biographer E. Walser distinguished three stages in the development of the *Facetiae*, more recently supported by E. Wolff.[18] Around 1438 Poggio lent a friend a collection of jests; Walser and Wolff both quote two of Poggio's letters as sources for the existence of a manuscript, lost by a careless friend, of this earliest version. By 1444 Poggio had reassembled the collection, by which time the number of facetiae had reached 178. To the second phase Poggio added a 'Prefatio' and a 'Conclusio' explaining the word 'bugiale' and the circumstances in which the *Facetiae* had originated. Witnesses for further developments are manuscripts where more facetiae had been added.[19] The third and final phase, which existed by 1452, included 273 facetiae. When this total number was reached, Poggio rearranged the collection. This version became the 'canonical' collection, although from his correspondence it appears that the *Facetiae* remained a work in progress.[20] In all, some 50 manuscripts of the *Facetiae* are known, representing various stages of its development.[21] The

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16   BAV, Pal. lat. 1361, ff. 119–189.

17   See stemma, Fig. 6.2.

18   Walser, *Poggius Florentinus*, and Pittaluga and Wolff (eds.), *Le Pogge* (see n. 1 above). In his 'Note philologique' of 2005, Pittaluga listed 10 manuscripts that represent the phases of the development of the text and form the basis of his text edition.

19   Pittaluga takes as an example BAV, Ms Vat. lat. 939, ff. 229–271.

20   Walser, *Poggius Florentinus*, pp. 263–266. Pittaluga, 'Note philologique' (see n. 1 above), p. LVI.

21   Pittaluga, 'Note philologique', p. XLVII.

latest date referred to in the *Facetiae* is March 1452/1453, and therefore Poggio's final arrangement must have taken place sometime between this date and his death in 1459. Walser, Wolff, and Pittaluga all assume that the version we find in the majority of the printed editions was the author's final version.[22] It seems likely that those printed editions which contain a smaller number of facetiae represent an earlier version of the text.

This was undoubtedly the case with the edition completed on 5 August 1471 in Ferrara, printed by Andreas Belfortis. It contains 175 facetiae, close to the number of 177 of which the version of 1442 consisted. It may be based on a slightly imperfect manuscript of the earliest version; there are many textual deviations from the version printed in *Venice-Valdarfer*, *Rome A*, and *Rome B*. *Ferrara* remains isolated in the textual tradition in print.

Similarly, the edition printed c. 1472 by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg, which includes 218 facetiae, is independent from any of the four discussed above, which were printed in the previous two years. It is interesting to note that although there can be no question of a direct link, some readings in *Nuremberg* are closer to *Ferrara* than to those in the *Venice-Rome* group (see Appendix II).

There are two more printed witnesses to independent manuscript sources. The earliest of the two was printed by Johannes de Westfalia in Louvain and is dated 1475. He reprinted this version in a slightly later state of the same fount of type he used between 1477 and 1483.[23] The colophon in the reprint reads: 'Impressus Tempore Ducis Maximiliani in sua terra brabantina', a formulation more suggestive of a date close to 1477, the year of Maximilian's marriage to Mary of Burgundy, than to 1483, by which time his presence was no longer a novelty. There are 251 facetiae in this collection, in an order radically different from anything we have seen so far.[24] Readings vary considerably from the *Venice-Rome* group. Apart from the reprint by Johannes de Westfalia himself, it was reprinted many years later, in Antwerp in 1486, by Mathias van der Goes.

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22   Ms Vat. Pal. lat. 1361, ff. 119–189, derives from *Rome B*, cf. Pittaluga, 'Note philologique', p. LXI, discussing variants: 'il se révèle donc possible, mais non certain, que Pal₁ [i.e. Pal. lat. 1361] dépende directement ou indirectement de *princ.* [i.e. *Rome A*], ou, du moins, qu'ils dérivent d'un antigraphe commun.' I think that the relationship is straightforward, the Vatican manuscript was copied from *Rome B* and is therefore derived at one remove from *Rome A*. Pittaluga notes here the textual coherence of the editions derived from *Rome A*, continuing, 'Nombreux enfin sont les cas où le groupe *princ.* Pal₁ *vulg.* [i.e. Basel, 1538] s'accorde pour les erreurs ou les variantes, contre le reste de la tradition'.

23   Classified as Johannes de Westfalia Type 1B**, see HPT, p. 434.

24   The order of the jests in De Westfalia's editions is specified in the description of the second edition in the incunabula catalogue of the Bodleian Library, Bod-inc P-413.

Finally, a textually independent edition was printed in Rome which is usually ascribed to Ulrich Han but is now assumed to have been printed as late as c. 1480 by a successor to his type.[25] It contains 206 facetiae, arranged in an order which is different from all other printed versions, and has many independent readings. Although at least five editions printed in Rome, all belonging to the *Venice-Rome* tradition, are known to have preceded it, this book is obviously independent from the earlier Rome editions.

The variant readings in the versions which are independent from the *Venice-Valdarfer/Rome A–B* tradition—*Ferrara*, *Nuremberg-Koberger*, *Louvain I* and its two reprints; and *Rome-Han*—suggest that the developments in what is presumably the later version with the full number of 273 facetiae were not always improvements. A useful passage to demonstrate this is the beginning of Facetia 11, which in the *Venice-Valdarfer* and the *Rome A* and *B* versions and their descendants almost uniformly reads: 'Bellum oppidum est in nostris appenini montibus'. The inappropriate noun 'Bellum' must be a substitute for what originally had been a place name. In *Ferrara* we find here 'Gollum', *Koberger* has '[ ]Elum', and *Rome-Han* prints 'Zenum'. Of the *Venice-Rome* group it was only *Rome-Rot* who proved to be critical of the word 'Bellum' and simply started his sentence with '[ ]ppidum'. In the manuscripts I have consulted I have found here 'Gellum' (Vat. lat. 939 and Vat. lat. 1785), 'Collum' (BL, Sloane 327), 'Vellum' (BL, Arundel 277), 'Geluus' (Bodl. lat. misc. e. 77), and 'Belum' (Bodl. Canon, misc. 3).

There are two more editions which, from the number of facetiae they contain, would appear to be independent: *Rome-Rot*, with 267 facetiae; and *Lübeck*, with 245. The edition printed by Adam Rot, c. 1471, is known to survive in only one copy, in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. At first sight it appears to belong to the independent books, for not only are seven facetiae missing, but the order in which they appear deviates considerably from the *Venice-Valdarfer/Rome* version. Comparison of variant readings shows, however, that textually the Rot edition belongs to the *Rome B* group. Further comparison with *Rome B* shows that the Munich copy has gaps after leaves 4 and 8, and that the facetiae appear in the book as presently bound in the following order: 1–10, 18–38, 130–174, 39–129, 175–273. The only section missing is that containing Facetiae 11–17, the rest being bound in the wrong order. *Rome-Rot* shows deviations from

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25   Bod-inc P-412, where following L.A. Sheppard's observation in his (unpublished) catalogue of the incunabula at the Bodleian Library that the type appears worn and contains admixtures of capitals and other wrong-fount sorts not observed in Han's work, the book is ascribed to 'Successor to types of Ulrich Han' and dated c. 1480.

Rome B on only three minor textual points: (1) The reading 'Oppidum' in Facetia 11, mentioned above; (2) Facetia 228 has lost its title; and (3) in Facetia 59 (on the obstinate woman) the first word on a verso page is barely legible in *Rome-Rot*. It now has the reading 'nequibat' corrected by pen, but it originally read 'acquibat'. We find this reading in *Rome-Gensberg*, which also misses the title of Facetia 228, but has in Facetia 11 the reading 'Bellum oppidum'. *Gensberg* must therefore have a collateral relationship to *Rome-Rot*, or in other words, both must have descended from a book in the *Rome B* family that is no longer extant and showed features (2) and (3). The loss of the title of Facetia 228 is also common to two later books in the *Rome B* tradition, printed by Johann Schurener de Boppard and by Eucharius Silber, and they must therefore be assumed to have descended from the same missing book. Since they both have the correct reading 'nequibat' in Facetia 59, *Rot* and *Gensberg* must be excluded from their ancestry.

It is not possible to find a satisfactory answer to the antecedents of the book printed at Lübeck, c. 1476, by Lucas Brandis, although here again some satisfaction may perhaps be found in the perception of something lost to the modern eye. The Lübeck book includes 245 facetiae; it has an irregular structure, collating [a–b$^{10-1}$ (-b9), c^8, d^6; e f^{10} g^{10+1} h^8].[26] The contents are no less irregular. Its beginning is straightforward: Facetiae 1–115 follow the *Venice-Valdarfer-Rome A* sequence; then on [d]5^b l. 29 there is a sudden transition, and we find Facetia 269, followed by 270, 271, and 272. This brings us to the end of quire [d]^6. The text then continues on [e]1^a with Facetiae 144–268, immediately followed by 273. The table printed at the end of the book, which presents the facetiae in order of appearance, confirms this sequence. Facetiae 115–143 are therefore missing. The readings of the text all belong to the *Venice-Valdarfer/Rome A* version. Among the readings I noted, there is very little variation between *Venice-Valdarfer* and *Rome A*; where it occurs (titles of Facetiae 18, 168, 251; text Facetiae 59, 159), *Lübeck* is three times on the side of *Rome A* (59, 159, 168) and twice on the side of *Venice-Valdarfer* (18, 251), but the variant in the title of Facetia 18 is inconclusive. *Venice-Valdarfer* and *Rome A* both made obvious mistakes here ('causam' and 'eam' for the correct reading 'spolii causa', emended in most of the later editions). For the variant in the title of Facetia 251 ('de sacerdote / presbitero') there is no obvious explanation. *Lübeck* has several minor independent emendations, e.g. the title of Facetia 51: 'Responsio redolphi ad bernabouem' (*Venice-*

26   Established by G. Chawner on the copy at King's College, Cambridge, his catalogue (1908), no. 34. Mr Felix de Marez Oyens informed me that the copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Goff P-860, collates in the same way.

Valdarfer and *Rome A*: 'ad. B.'). On textual grounds *Lübeck* appears therefore to be a descendant of *Rome A* with a few independent emendations, but there is one argument against this: the missing Facetiae 115–143 form exactly the contents of *Venice-Valdarfer*'s quire [e]. There is, however, no explanation for the insertion of Facetiae 269–272, which does not correspond with a material section in either *Venice-Valdarfer* or *Rome A*, or in any of the other editions I have examined. It may therefore be best to decide that *Lübeck* belongs to the *Rome A* tradition, possibly through a link which is no longer extant, and probably through a rather badly misbound copy which disturbed the order.

Two other editions printed in the east of Europe are closely related to *Lübeck* and belong to the *Rome A* branch of the stemma. A copy of the first Rome edition may well have travelled in a priest's saddlebags to Wrocław, in modern Poland, where it served as exemplar for Caspar Elyan in about 1475. From this edition the text was reprinted about a year later in a Polish religious house; the site of this press is not certain, but strong arguments have been presented for Chelmno, in central Poland.[27] These were the only direct descendants of *Rome A*, which, as we have seen, was itself reprinted from *Venice-Valdarfer*.

The Venetian *editio princeps* produced more offspring, which was perhaps the result of more successful, wider distribution than the first Rome edition. The earliest of the reprints (after *Rome A*) was a handsome book produced in 1475 by Friedrich Creussner in Nuremberg, who chose not to take as his example the book printed earlier in Nuremberg by Anton Koberger, which contained only 218 facetiae. Following his Venetian exemplar exactly, he only added a title, and it is through this addition that we can recognise its offspring as having descended from him and not directly from *Venice-Valdarfer*. Among his descendants are Creussner's own second edition of c. 1479, which shows a few independent corrections and added a motto to the preface which sums up its contents: 'Ne emuli carpant opus propter eloquentie tenuitatem'. He was followed in this by the edition printed c. 1483 at Speyer by the brothers Hist, which in turn was followed by Johann Siber in Lyon (undated), Nikolaus Kessler in Basel (1488), and Konrad Kachelofen in Leipzig (1491). Finally, the edition of Poggio's collected works printed in Basel in 1538 shows through these combined features that it descends from this line. The Basel edition of 1538 served as the basis for the small but useful text editions by P. Liseux, published in Paris in 1878 and 1879 with translations into French and English. Liseux's text, in its turn, had been the authority for most selections and quotations until 1995, when Stefano

27   On the place of printing of the Printer of Leo Papa *Sermones*, see Eliza Szandorowska, 'A Dutch Printing-Office in Fifteenth-Century Poland', *Quaerendo*, 2 (1972), pp. 162–172.

Pittaluga produced a version of the Latin text based on readings in 10 selected manuscripts;[28] it is thus by a generous measure of good fortune that the edition printed in Venice has made an impact that lasted until very recently.

We have already seen that a line of descent from the slightly corrupted *Rome B* version began to develop in Rome itself, in parallel to the publication of versions derived from *Venice-Valdarfer* and *Rome A*. Later this was continued by Venetian printers, and eventually by Michel le Noir in Paris. But much earlier, c. 1475, the Parisian press Au Soufflet Vert had reprinted the work from *Rome B*, introducing several improvements: the facetiae were numbered, punctuation was corrected, and the title of Facetia 72, missing in all previous editions, was supplied. It was reprinted twice in Lyon, c. 1478, and c. 1480, the first containing some slipshod errors which were independently corrected in the second; the third time the text was printed in Lyon was not a reprint from either of the two previous Lyonnaise editions, but from the line descended from the first Valdarfer edition; it has a few independent readings (the titles of Facetiae 13, 48, 72)[29] but is otherwise textually closest to the edition printed a couple of years earlier in Speyer. It made one improvement in presentation by using a large heading type setting out the title of each of the facetiae. This feature is also found in the editions printed in Basel by Nicholas Kessler and in Leipzig by Konrad Kachelofen, which, however, do not have Siber's independent readings. Nevertheless, the line Creussner II, Speyer-Hist, Lyon-Siber, Basel-Kessler, Leipzig-Kachelofen forms a very coherent group.

Rome B was also reprinted in Milan; Christopher Valdarfer, who had produced the *editio princeps* in Venice, now took as exemplar not his own beautiful book but the slightly flawed version. He numbered the facetiae and supplied titles, but in one instance (Facetia 72) not the same as *Paris-Soufflet Vert*. The manuscript written in Germany and now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (see n. 22) must have descended from this branch of the Rome family, since it also shows the error in the order of the facetiae that originated in Lauer's printing house. It is remarkable that all the descendants of *Rome B*, itself a very modest book, are unassuming in appearance, distinctly lower on the social scale than the earliest direct descendants of *Venice-Valdarfer* printed by Creussner. The sequence of later Rome editions derived from *Rome B* was later reprinted in Venice and several times in Paris by Michel le Noir.

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28   Pittaluga (Milan, 1995), see n. 2 above.

29   The title of Facetia 72, 'De eo qui lusit ad taxillos', is the same as in the two Milanese editions. Perhaps one of them was consulted, but there is no other variant reading to confirm this. The identical formulation may be coincidence, since this was an obvious form to describe the contents of this facetia.

The four independent versions—*Ferrara*, *Nuremberg-Koberger*, *Louvain 1*, and *Rome-Han*—as well as the two defective versions (*Rome-Rot* and *Lübeck*) have in common that they were not reprinted, with the exception of that of *Louvain 1*, printed by Johannes de Westfalia. The reason that the four presumably earlier versions of the text were generally not successful in producing offspring was probably because it did not escape the attention of printers—nor that of their clients—that these books did not represent the full set of facetiae available in print elsewhere. In the four independent witnesses we can observe a reflection of the wide dissemination of the text in manuscript, in a variety of early versions. But we see also a selection process at work: only the most extensive form of the text proliferated in print, in a connected but by no means straight line of descent. Printers were concerned about doing justice to an author, and took care not to present a text that could be considered defective. The exception—the version published twice by the Louvain printer Johannes de Westfalia—offers an interesting illustration of this point. After he himself had reprinted the book in unaltered form a few years after his first edition had appeared, it was also reprinted unchanged by Mathias van der Goes in 1486 in nearby Antwerp. But van der Goes, apparently after seeing another printed version with the full set of facetiae, published in the following year another edition which contains all 273, taking Creussner's first edition as exemplar. Although not stating so explicitly, he appears to have repudiated his recently printed earlier edition.

Textual completeness, then, was a primary concern, but printers varied in their care for presentation. Although the format they chose for the book was more often than not a quarto, there was a great deal of difference in the quality of its printing—title pages were added, and an additional title to the preface which could serve as a motto; or, as initiated by the press of Au Soufflet Vert in Paris, the facetiae were numbered, or the titles marked by a paragraph mark, as in the editions printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome (1480–1482) and Ottinus de Luna in Venice (1500). From the mid-1480s, several printers in Lyon, Basel, and Leipzig used a second large type for the titles of the facetiae. Spaces were left open to mark the beginning of each facetia with an initial to be filled in by a rubricator. Tables of contents, whether an alphabetical index or in order of appearance, were in due course abandoned. Some titles of facetiae which had gone missing were supplied in the more discriminating printing houses. But with all the variation in presentation, the body of the text remained remarkably unchanged as it progressed through the printing houses. There are some emendations, corrections of obvious errors, and even conjectures which improve the meaning, but they are few and far between. In the course of the transmission in manuscript some errors must have crept in, causing sentences to appear

unstructured, and compositors or editors found their individual solutions. A good example is the beginning of Facetia 38, where in the manuscript tradition a gloss may have been inserted into the first sentence, obscuring its original structure. Only gradually, through improved punctuation, did the sentence acquire an acceptable structure and sense (see Appendix II). Apparently an editorial eye had gone over the text in a few printing houses (e.g. Au Soufflet Vert in Paris, Lucas Brandis in Lübeck, Creussner in Nuremberg, and Siber in Lyon) who thus distinguished themselves. But overwhelmingly the text remained intact through the tortuous process of transmission in editions whose common ancestry became more and more remote over the years.

The popularity the text enjoyed in the 1470s and 1480s cannot be in doubt, despite the disapproval of some. Incunable editions were printed from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Baltic. But there is very little evidence that the text was treated as if it were alive and close to actuality. In a vernacular text of this nature, stories told and retold as topical anecdotes without advertising any literary merit, we would expect more participation in the retelling. Whether in manuscript or in print this would manifest itself over the years by adaptation or updating of the language. This can, in fact, be observed in the small selection of facetiae that was translated by Heinrich Steinhöwel and added to his translation of the fables of Aesop and Avianus,[30] from where it was translated into French by Julien Macho,[31] and whence by William Caxton into English.[32] The translators of the facetiae amplified the stories, often made explicit what Poggio had implied, and needed many more words. Their vernacular storytelling had a tone that was radically different from the dry, sophisticated style in which Poggio presented his often coarse humour. The original *Facetiae* had clearly been written in a spirit of levity, 'ad levationes anime et ad ingenii exercitium', as Poggio put it himself. Even so, printers may not have felt free—or were not able—to play fast and loose with the language or substance of the Latin facetiae, as the translators did.

By the second half of the fifteenth century Poggio was known as a venerated scholar, an apostolic secretary, no less, as many of the editions do not neglect to mention. In his hands (and later, for example, in the *Colloquia* of Erasmus), Latin might still be used to depict everyday life in a humorous vein, as if it were

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30   GW 351–363.

31   GW 368–372.

32   Duff 4, ISTC ia00117500, GW 376. For Caxton's source, see Martin Davies, 'A Tale of Two Aesops', *The Library*, 7th ser. 3 (2006), pp. 257–288, and also the essay 'From Poggio to Caxton', pp. 254–277 in the present collection.

| 1470 | ⊙ ms. exemplar | | 1470 |

Stemma diagram contents:

⊙ ms. exemplar
⊗ 1. Venice – Valdarfer (1470)
× 2. Rome-A (1471)
⊗ 4. Ferrara (1471)
× 3. Rome-B (1472)
⊗ 6. Nuremberg – Koberger (1472/1473)
× ? (1473)
× 5. Rome – Rot (1473)
× 7. Rome – Gensberg (1474)
⊗ 8. Louvain I (1475)
○ MS BAV   × 11. Paris – Soufflet Vert   × 10. Wroclaw   × 9. Nuremberg– Creussner I (1475)
× 12. Lübeck (1476)
× 15. Rome – Schurener   × 14. Milan I – Valdarfer   × 13. Chelmno   × 16. Louvain II (1477)
× 17. Lyon I (1479)
× 18. Creussner II (1479)
× 20. Lyon II   × 22. Milan II (1480)
⊗ 19. Rome – Han (1481)
× 21. Rome – Silber (1482)
× 23. Speyer (1484/1485)
× 25. Antwerp I (1486)
× 26. Venice – de Strata   × 24. Lyon III (1487)
× 27. Antwerp II (1487)
× 28. Basel – Kessler (1489)
× 29. Leipzig (1490/1498)
× 30. Paris – Le Noir (1498)
× 31. Venice – de Luna (1500)
Le Noir, 1518
Basel, 1538

Poggio's *Facetiae* in print before 1501
Stemma

LEGENDA
⊗ printed from ms
× printed from printed exemplar

FIG. 6.2   *The stemma sums up the complex branching of the dissemination of Poggio's text in print. Note the straight line linking the Venetian* editio princeps *with the canonical edition in Poggio's* Opera Omnia *printed in Basel in 1538.*

a vernacular language; this is what Poggio set out to prove. But the genius and linguistic facility of the great humanist scholars eluded the printers. They may have preserved the words of this famous man with a respect that was probably not intended by its author, and runs counter to the offence taken by some. Popular as the text was, the textual transmission in the sequence of editions printed in the fifteenth century does not help to support Poggio's case, for despite the scars and repairs, so helpful in establishing a stemma, the language was not treated with the flexibility that characterises a living language, and as a consequence the text remained largely intact in the form in which it had first appeared in print.

Appendix 1: Poggius Florentinus. *FACETIAE*: Recorded Incunable Editions in Chronological Order

For the census of copies and further bibliographical references I refer to the ISTC database; the forms of personal names are therefore as in ISTC.

	Sigla and dating	Printer, format, and references	No. of facetiae	Presentation and notes
1.	*Venice-Valdarfer* c. 1470	[Christophorus Valdarfer], 4⁰ BMC V, 184; Bod-inc P-409; ISTC ip00854300; GW M34598.	273	– Alphabetical tabula – Chapter headings – From ms source
2.	*Rome A* c. 1470	[Georgius Lauer], 4⁰ BMC XII, 3; CIBN P-518; ISTC ip00854600; GW M34583–M3458310.	273	– Alphabetical tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Venice-Valdarfer*
3.	*Rome B* c. 1470	[Georgius Lauer], 4⁰ Bod-inc P-410; ISTC ip00855000; GW M34582.	273	– Alphabetical tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Rome A*
4.	*Ferrara* 5 Aug. 1471	[Andreas Belfortis], 8⁰ BMC VI, 601; ISTC ip00855500; GW M34558.	175	– No tabula – No chapter headings – From ms source
5.	*Rome-Rot* c. 1471	[Adam Rot], 4⁰ BSB-Ink B-778; ISTC ip00855700; GW M34584.	267 out of 273?	– No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Rome B* – Imperfect copy

	Sigla and dating	Printer, format, and references	No. of facetiae	Presentation and notes
6.	*Nuremberg, Koberger* c. 1472	[Anton Koberger], fol. BMC II, 412; BSB-Ink B-779 (electr. facs.); CIBN P-519; ISTC ip00856000; GW M34574.	218	– No tabula – No chapter headings – From ms source
7.	*Rome-Gensberg* c. 1473–1474	[Johannes Gensberg], 8⁰ Goff P-856a; ISTC ip00856400; GW M34579.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Rome-Rot*
8.	*Louvain I* 9 Jan. 1475	[Johannes de Westfalia], fol. ILC 1784; Oates 3763; ISTC ip00856500; GW M34562.	251	– Tabula in order of appearance – Chapter headings – From ms source
9.	*Creussner I* 1475	Friedrich Creussner, fol. BSB-Ink B-780 (electr. facs.); ISTC ip00858000; GW M34573.	273	– Alphabetical tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Venice-Valdarfer*
10.	*Wrocław* c. 1475	[Caspar Elyan], 4⁰ Collijn (Stockholm) 884; ISTC ip00856700; GW M34556.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Rome A*
11.	*Paris, Au Soufflet Vert* c. 1475	[Au Soufflet Vert], 4⁰ BMC VIII, 16; cf. GW 316; CIBN P-520; Bod-inc P-411; ISTC ip00857000; GW M34576.	273	– Tabula in order of appearance – Numbered chapter headings – Follows *Rome B*
12.	*Lübeck* c. 1476	[Lucas Brandis], fol. Cambridge, King's College, Chawner 34; ISTC ip00860000; GW M34563.	245	– Tabula in order of appearance – Chapter headings – Missing 28 Facetiae (115–143) – Close to *Rome A*
13.	*Chelmno (?)* c. 1476–1477	[Printer of Leo Papa *Sermones*], 4⁰ BSB-Ink B-781; ISTC ip00860200; GW M34548.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Rome A*

(cont.)

	Sigla and dating	Printer, format, and references	No. of facetiae	Presentation and notes
14.	*Milan I, Valdarfer* 10 Feb. 1477	Christophorus Valdarfer for Petrus Antonius de Castellione, 4⁰ and 8⁰ BMC VI, 727; CIBN P-521; BSB-Ink B-753 (electr. facs.); ISTC ip00861000; GW M34568.	273	– No tabula – Numbered chapter headings – Follows *Rome B*
15.	*Rome-Schurener* 1477	Johann Schurener de Boppard, 4⁰ BMC IV, 58; BSB-Ink B-782 (electr. facs.); ISTC ip00861600; GW M34585. Two inner sheets of quire [f] are printed in Johann Bulle's type 83G, but the text is continuous.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Rome-B* (see Facetia 59, below)
16.	*Louvain II* c. 1477	[Johannes de Westfalia], 4⁰ ILC 1785; Bod-inc P-413; ISTC ip00861700; GW M34561.	251	– Tabula in order of appearance – Chapter headings – Follows *Louvain I*
17.	*Lyon I* c. 1478	[Nic. Philippi and Marcus Reinhart], 4⁰ BL IA.41555 (not in BMC); ISTC ip00862000; GW M34564.	273	– Tabula in order of appearance – Chapter headings numbered – Follows *Paris-Soufflet Vert*
18.	*Creussner II* before 1479	[Friedrich Creussner], fol. BMC II, 450; BSB-Ink B-784 (electr. facs.); CIBN P-522; Bod-inc P-414; ISTC ip00863000; GW M34572.	273	– Alphabetical tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Creussner I*
19.	*Rome-Han* c. 1480	[Successor to the types of Ulrich Han], 4⁰ Bod-inc P-412; ISTC ip00859000; GW M34580.	206	– No tabula – No chapter headings – From ms source
20.	*Lyon II* c. 1480	[Nic. Philippi and Marcus Reinhart], 4⁰ BMC VIII, 243, CIBN P-524 ISTC ip00864300; GW M3456310.	273	– Tabula in order of appearance – Chapter headings with errors, numbered to 282 – Follows *Lyon I*

	Sigla and dating	Printer, format, and references	No. of facetiae	Presentation and notes
21.	*Rome-Silber* 1480–1482	[Eucharius Silber], 4⁰ BMC IV, 120; CIBN P-523; ISTC ip00864500; GW M34586.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings with paragraph marks – Follows *Rome-Schurener*
22.	*Milan II* 19 Oct. 1481	Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 4⁰ Bod-inc P-415; ISTC ip00865000; GW M34567.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings numbered – Follows *Milan I-Valdarfer*
23.	*Speyer* c. 1483	[Johann and Conrad Hist], 4⁰ (formerly ascribed to Georgius de Spira, Strasbourg). CIBN P-525; BL IA. 8692 (not in BMC); ISTC ip00865800; GW M34587.	273	– Title page – Tabula in order of appearance – Chapter headings – Follows *Creussner II*
24.	*Lyon III* c. 1485–1487	[Johannes Siber], 4⁰ Berlin SB (electr. facs.); ISTC ip00865850; GW M34549.	273	– Title page – No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Creussner II* or *Speyer*
25.	*Antwerp I* 1486	[Mathias van der Goes], 4⁰ ILC 1786; ISTC ip00865900; GW M34552.	251	– Tabula in order of appearance – Chapter headings – Follows *Louvain I* or *II*
26.	*Venice-de Strata* 10 Apr. 1487	[Antonius de Strata, de Cremona], 4⁰ BSB-Ink B-785 (electr. facs.); ISTC ip00867000; GW M34589.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Rome-Schurener*
27.	*Antwerp II* 3 Aug. 1487	Mathias van der Goes, 4⁰ ILC 1787; CIBN P-526; ISTC ip00868000; GW M34553.	273	– No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Nuremberg-Creussner I*
28.	*Basel* 14 Mar. 1488	N[icolaus] K[essler], 4⁰ BMC III, p. 765; CIBN P-527; Bod-inc P-416; ISTC ip00869000; GW M34554.	273	– Title page – No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Speyer*

(cont.)

	Sigla and dating	Printer, format, and references	No. of facetiae	Presentation and notes
29.	*Leipzig* 1491	Conrad Kachelofen, 4⁰ BSB-Ink B-786 (electr. facs.); Weimar, HAAB (electr. facs.); ISTC ip00869500; GW M34560.	273	– Title page – No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Basel*
30.	*Paris-le Noir* 15 Oct. 1498	[Michel le Noir], 4⁰ BMC VIII, 183; BSB-Ink B-787 (electr. facs.); CIBN P-529; ISTC ip00871000; GW M34571.	273	– Title page – No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Venice-de Strata*
31.	*Venice-de Luna* 1 Dec. 1500	Otinus de Luna, Papiensis, 4⁰ BMC V, 570; BSB-Ink B-788; Wolfenbüttel HAB (electr. facs.); ISTC ip00872000; GW M34591.	273	– Title page – No tabula – Chapter headings – Follows *Paris-le-Noir*

Appendix II: Variants and Variant Readings[33]

I   *Composition and Presentation of the Text*
Number of facetiae:

273: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot(?), 7. Rome-Gensberg, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 13. Chelmno(?), 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 18. Creussner II, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 26. Venice-de Strata, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

175: *4. Ferrara.*

206: *19. Rome-Han.*

218: *6. Koberger.*

245: *12. Lübeck.*

251: *8, 16. Louvain I and II, 25. Antwerp I, 1486.*

267: *5. Rome-Rot (imperfect copy, total probably 273).*

Chapter Headings

Present in: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 8. Louvain I, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 15. Rome-Schurener*, 16. *Louvain II, 18. Creussner II, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 25. Antwerp I, 26. Venice-de Strata, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Present and numbered in: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 22. Milan II*

Not present in: *4. Ferrara, 6. Koberger, 19. Rome-Han.*

Tabula

Alphabetical list of subjects with leaf references: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 9. Creussner I, 18. Creussner II.*

List of facetiae in order of appearance: *8. Louvain I, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert,*

12. Lübeck, 16. Louvain II, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 23. Speyer, 25. Antwerp I

Not present in: *4. Ferrara, 5. Rome-Rot, 6. Koberger, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 10. Wrocław, 13. Chelmno (?), 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 19. Rome-Han, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 24. Lyon III, 26. Venice-de Strata, 27.* Antwerp II, 28. *Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31.Venice-de Luna.*

The following list of features and variant readings is compiled to establish the interrelation of the printed editions. The editions derived from manuscript copy (in the chronological list of editions nos. 4, 6, 8, 16, [reprinted from 8] 19, and 25 [reprinted from 8 or 16]) are mainly excluded.

Printed title of work (in what follows, most abbreviations and contractions are expanded):

Separate title page: Facecie Pog(g)ij:

23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.

] Pogij florentini oratoris clarissimi facetiarum: *30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Incipit:

Pogii Florentini oratoris clarissimi facetiarum liber incipit feliciter: *3. Rome B, [ms. Vat. Pal. lat. 1361], 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert,*

15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.

] ... incipit: 14. *Milan I, 22. Milan II.*

Incipit liber Faceciarum Poggij Florentini Secretary Apostolici: *10. Wrocław, 13. Chelmno (?).*

] Poggij Florentini Oratoris eloquentissimi. ac secretarij apostolici facetiarum liber incipit feliciter: *6. Koberger I, 9. Creussner I.*

] ... faceciarum incipit feliciter. Prefatio. Ne emuli carpant opus propter eloquentie tenuitatem: *18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

Facetie iocundissime Pogii poete laureati civis Florentini secretarii apostolici in cetu pro animi recreatione recitande ornatissime composite incipiunt: *19. Rome-Han.*

Poggii Florentini Oratoris clarissimi confabulacionum seu faceciarum liber faceciarum incipit feliciter: *12. Lübeck.*

Pogii Florentini oratoris clarissimi: in facetiarum librum prologus Incipit feliciter: *8. Louvain I, 16. Louvain II, 25. Antwerp I, 27. Antwerp II.*

Order of jests in editions with 273 jests:

51–52–53–54–55: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno(?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

51, 54–55, 52–53: *3. Rome B [ms Vat. Pal. lat. 1361], 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

196–197–198 ... 251–252: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

196, 198 ... 251, 197, 252: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

1–115, 269–272, 144–268, 273: *12. Lübeck.*

II   *Variant Readings: Titles of Facetiae*

Facetia 1: Fabula prima cuiusdam caietani pauperis naucleri: *1. Venice-Valdarfer,*

2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12 Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.

] De Caietano paupere nauclero: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11.*

Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 25. Antwerp I, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.

Facetia 3: Bonacii Guasconi qui tam tarde e lecto surgebat: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] De Bonacii pigritantis disputatione: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 8. Louvain I, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 16. Louvain II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 25. Antwerp I, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31.Venice-de Luna.*

] De Donacii pigritantis disputatione: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II.*

Facetia 11: De sacerdote qui ignorabat solemnitatem palmarum: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] De sacerdote solemnitatem palmarum ignorante: *3. Rome B, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] De sacerdote rusticano quadragesimam ignorante: *8, 16. Louvain I and II, 25. Antwerp I.*

Facetia 13: Dictum coci Illustrissimo duci mediolanensi habitum: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] Dictum coci duci mediolanensi habitum: *3. Rome B, 7. Rome Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17, 20. Lyon I and II, 21. Rome Silber, 22. Milan II, 24. Lyon III, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Facetia 18: Querimonia spolii causam ad facinum canem facta: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław. 12. Lübeck.*

] ... spolii eam ...: *2. Rome A.*

] ... spolii causa ...: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 8. Louvain I, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 13. Chelmno (?), 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 16. Louvain II, 17. Lyon I, 18. Creussner II, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 25. Antwerp I, 26. Venice-de Strata, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Facetia 30: Confabulatio N.A.: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] Confabulatio: *12. Lübeck.*

] Confabulatio Nicolai anagnini: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] Confabulatio Nicolai sanaguini: *17. Lyon I.*

] anaguini: *20. Lyon II.*

] no title: *10. Wrocław, 13. Chelmno (?).*

Facetia 35: Pulchra facetia histrionis ad Bonifacium papam: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] Facetia histrionis ad Bonifacium papam: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Facetia 48: De mendico fratre qui tempore belli Bernardo pacem nominavit: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer.*

] De mendico qui …: *14. Milan I, 22. Milan II.*

] De medico fratre qui …: *12. Lübeck, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] De medico qui …: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Facetia 52: Alia responsio ad G: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] Alia responsio Redolphi ad G: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II* (numbered 'liiij').

] no title: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan I.*

] final abbreviated lines of Facetia 51 become title of 52: Redolphus ait se ideo urbem non egredi: sic tu ingrediaris: *26. Venice-de Strata, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] … ne tu ingrediaris: *30. Paris-le Noir.*

Facetia 54, title supplied: Sentencia Redolphi contra illum qui eum vulnerauit: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II.*

] Responsio Redolphi pro uulnere sagitte: *14. Milan I, 22. Milan II.*

Facetia 72: no title: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 15. Rome-Schurener, 18. Creussner II, 21. Rome-Silber, 23. Speyer, 26.Venice-de Strata, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

title supplied:

] Pulcrum dictum defendens ludentes ad taxillos: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II.*

] De eo qui lusit ad tasillos: *14. Milan, I, 22. Milan II.*

] De eo qui lusit ad taxillos: *24. Lyon III.*

] De lusore propter lusum in carcerem truso: *Basel-1538.*

Facetia 144: no title: 12. *Lübeck.*

Facetia 168: Mirandum conspiciendum: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 9. Creussner I, 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] Mirandum inspiciendum: *2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 10. Wrocław, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Facetia 196: Facetissimum Angelotti Cinbisarionem C graecum: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner.*

] ... Angelotti. C. in bisarionem. C. grecum: *10. Wroc£aw.*

] Facetum ...: *13. Chelmno (?).*

] ... angelotti in barisionem graecum: *12. Lübeck.*

] Facetissimum Angelotti dictum (d)e cardinali greco barbato: *18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig, Basel-1538.*

] Facetum Angelott. Cibisarionem C: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 15. Rome-Schurener, 21. Rome-Silber, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] Facetum Angelott.C. bisarionem. c.: *26. Venice-de Strata.*

] ... in bisarionem C: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 14. Milan I, 22. Milan II.*

Facetia 198: Facetum cuiusdam iudicis in aduocatum qui allegauit clementi-
nam & nouellam: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wroc£aw,
12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III (…clemen-
tiam …), 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] Facetum iudicis in aduocatum: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11.
Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21.
Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31.Venice-de
Luna.*

Facetia 201: De adolescentula segregata a viro: *1. Venice Valdarfer, 2. Rome A,
9. Creussner I, 10. Wroc£aw, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24.
Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

Facetia 202: De duorum contentione pro eodem insigne armorum: *1. Venice-
Valdafer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 13. Chelmno (?).*

] … insigni …, *18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-
Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

Facetiae 201 and 202: no title: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11.
Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I* (supplies a title for 202), *15. Rome-Schurener, 17.
Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II* (follows *Milan I*), *26. Venice-de
Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Facetia 228: Sapiens dictum cardinalis Auionensis ad regem franci(a)e: *1.
Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 9. Creussner I, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 10.
Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 14. Milan I, 17. Lyon I, 18. Creussner II, 20.
Lyon II, 22. Milan II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29.
Leipzig.*

] no title: *5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 15. Rome-Schurener, 21. Rome-Silber, 26.
Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

Facetia 251: De sacerdote Epiphania an uir esset uel f(o)emina ignorante: *1.
Venice-Valdarfer, 9. Creussner I, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24.
Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] … Epiphaniam: *10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck.*

] De presbitero … epiphaniam: *2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-
Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener* (in sheet print-
ed by Joh. de Bulla), *17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26.
Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

III   *Variant Readings of Text*

Facetia 11: (B)Ellum oppidum est in nostris appennini montibus: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 8. Louvain I, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 16. Louvain II, 17. Lyon I, 18. Creussner II, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 26. Venice-de Strata, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] (G)ollum: *4. Ferrara.*

] ( )Elum: *6. Koberger.*

] (z)ENUM: *19. Rome-Han.*

Facetia 38: Oppidum est in montibus nostris: in quo multi ex variis locis ad diem festum convenerant. erat enim celebritas sancti Stephani religiosus quidam erat habiturus de more sermonem ad populum: cum hora esset ...: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 5. Rome Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 15. Rome-Schurener, 21. Rome-Silber, 23. Speyer, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] ... erat autem celebritas: *17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II.*

] ... sancti stephani. R/religiosus quidam: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 12. Lübeck, 17. Lyon I, 18. Creussner II, 20. Lyon II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] ... ex variis locis ad diem festum conuenerant. (erat enim celebritas sancti stephani) religiosus quidam: *14. Milan I, 22. Milan II.*

] ... ex uariis locis ad diem festum Erat enim celebritas sancti stephani conuenerant: Religiosus quidam: *4. Ferrara, 6. Koberger, 8, 16. Louvain I, II*

] ... ad diem festum conueniunt. Erat enim celebritas sancti stephani. Religiosus quidam erat de more habiturus sermonem ...: *19. Rome-Han.*

Facetia 51 (end): ... egressum suum varie excusantem. non bene inquit neque prudenter respondisti. Vade redi dic Bernabovi Redolfus ait se ideo urbem non egredi ne tu ingredi queas: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 2. Rome A, 9. Creussner I, 10. Wrocław, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] ... egressum suum excusantem. non bene inquit respondisti. vade dic Ber. Redolfus ait ⟨se⟩ ideo urbem non egredi: ne tu ingrediaris.: *3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] uade dic Ber.: *26. Venice-de Strata, 31. Venice-de Luna* (title following facetia: Redolphus ait se ideo urbem non egredi: sic tu ingrediaris.).

Facetia 59: ... etiam dum suffocaretur quod loqui nequibat: digitis exprimebat. Nam manibus super caput erectis atque ungulis utriusque pollicis coniunctis: saltem quod potuit gestu viro pediculos obijciebat: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 9. Creussner I, 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] etiam dum suffocaretur quod loqui nequibat: nam manibus digitis exprimebat. super caput erectis atque ungulis utriusque pollicis coniunctis (*etc.*): *2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 10. Wrocław, 13. Chelmno (?), 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] et dum suffocaretur ... supra caput ... gestu pediculos viro: *4. Ferrara, 6. Koberger.*

] ... supra caput ... vnguibus vtriusque ... saltem quoad ...: *8. Louvain I, 19. Rome-Han, 16. Louvain II.*

] ... acquibat: *5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg.*

] ... nequibat / iam manibus: *11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II.*

] ... digitisque ... coniunctim ...: *12. Lübeck.*

] ... manibus & digitis ... *21. Rome-Silber.*

Facetia 159: ... coquus/cocus baronti ... qui per iniuriam uxorem vapulavit: *1. Venice-Valdarfer, 9. Creussner I, 18. Creussner II, 23. Speyer, 24. Lyon III, 27. Antwerp II, 28. Basel-Kessler, 29. Leipzig.*

] ... coquus/cocus Baronti ... qui per iniuriam vapulavit: *2. Rome A, 3. Rome B, 5. Rome-Rot, 7. Rome-Gensberg, 10. Wroc£aw, 11. Paris-Soufflet Vert, 12. Lübeck, 13. Chelmno (?), 14. Milan I, 15. Rome-Schurener, 17. Lyon I, 20. Lyon II, 21. Rome-Silber, 22. Milan II, 26. Venice-de Strata, 30. Paris-le Noir, 31. Venice-de Luna.*

] ... coquus aronti ... qui per iniuriam vapulavit: *4. Ferrara, 6. Koberger, 19. Rome-Han.*

Appendix III: The Error in Georg Lauer's Printing House When Producing Its Second Edition of the *Facetiae*

Lauer's second edition of the *Facetiae*, here referred to as '*Rome B*', is structured as 10 quires of 10 leaves, printed on divided half-sheets. As set out above, its exemplar is a copy of the first edition in which the future pages and quires must have been marked up, 25 lines in *Rome A* to be reduced to 23 lines

in *Rome B*. Although quite a regular structure, with each quire formed by five half-sheets, it may be helpful to set it out for quire [c], where the error occurred.

Half-sheets	Conjugate pages
[c]1 conjugate with [c]10	[c]1^a = page 1 > [c]10^b = page 20 (outer pages, half-sheet 1)
	[c]1^b = page 2 > [c]10^a = page 19 (inner pages, half-sheet 1)
[c]2 conjugate with [c]9	[c]2^a = page 3 > [c]9^b = page 18 (outer pages, half-sheet 2)
	[c]2^b = page 4 > [c]9^a = page 17 (inner pages, half-sheet 2)
[c]3 conjugate with [c]8	[c]3^a = page 5 > [c]8^b = page 16 (outer pages, half-sheet 3)
	[c]3^b = page 6 > [c]8^a = **page 15** (inner pages, half-sheet 3)
[c]4 conjugate with [c]7	[c]4^a = page 7 > **[c]7^b** = **page 14** (outer pages, half-sheet 4)
	[c]4^b = page 8 > **[c]7^a** = **page 13** (inner pages, half-sheet 4)
[c]5 conjugate with [c]6	[c]5^a = page 9 > [c]6^b = page 12 (outer pages, half-sheet 5)
	[c]5^b = page 10 > [c]6^a = page 11 (inner pages, half-sheet 5)

Instead of the end of Facetia 51 'Responsio Redolphi ad B', we find in *Rome B* at the bottom of page [c]7^a (page 13 in the quire) two lines stamped below the area which is typeset as normal. The two lines are found in all copies examined thus far: Bodleian Library, the Hunterian Library in Glasgow, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the copy described in H.P. Kraus's catalogue 131 *The Cradle of Printing* (1971), no. 12, which is now at the Yale University Library. The two stamped lines complete the anecdote, but in a much contracted and somewhat truncated version compared with *Venice* and *Rome A*. They read:

> *Rome A*: '… egressum suū uarie ex- || cusantem. non bene inquit neꝗ prudenter re- || spōdisti. Vade redi dic Bernaboui Redolfus || ait se ideo urbē nō egredi ne tu īgredi queas:' || (followed by the title of Facetia 52: 'Alia responsio ad .G.' and the first two lines of text).

> *Rome B*: '… egressum suū || (*stamped in*:) excusantē n̄ b̄n īq̄t r̄ndisti. uade dic Ber. Re- || dolfus ait ideo urbē nō egredi: ne tu īgrediaris.' ||

In all copies of *Rome B* the word 'se' is inserted in manuscript between 'excusante' and 'n̄' (see Fig. 6.1 above). Thus, in *Rome B* the punchline of the anecdote is reduced from 3¼ lines to 2 lines.

On the following page [c]7ᵇ, page 14 in quire [c], we find not Facetia 52, in the order of the text as in the printed exemplar (*Rome A*) and in *Venice*, but Facetia 54 (without a title), followed by No. 55, correctly entitled 'Fabula Mancini'. Facetia 55 continues on page 15 ([c]8ᵃ), where it is followed by Facetia 52, 'Alia Responsio Redolphi ad G', and Facetia 53. The proper order of the text was restored at the beginning of [c]8ᵇ, page 16, in the quire.

The titles of these facetiae in their correct sequence are:

51.   Responsio Redolphi ad Bernabovem.
52.   Alia responsio [Redolphi] ad .G.
53.   De eodem quomodo a Florentinis pro proditore depictus est.
54.   De quodam qui Redolphum sagittando vulneravit.
55.   Fabula Mancini.

To sum up: the textual order in *Rome B* of pages 13–15 in the quire, or [c]7ᵃ, 7ᵇ, 8ᵃ, 8ᵇ, is Facetiae 51, 54, 55, 52, 53, which can be noted schematically as: 'a–c–b', whereas *Rome A* has 'a–b–c'.

A printing house error usually offers an opportunity to come closer to methods of production, and the present error is no exception. In 1470, the first year of his activity as printer, Georg Lauer produced one dated edition in-folio (Johannes Chrysostomos, *Homiliae*, with the date 29 October 1470, ISTC ij00286000); two equally substantial undated folio editions are thought to belong to the same year (Chrysostomos, *Sermones*, ISTC ij00300000, and Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones*, ISTC it00182000); a papal bull, issued in April 1470, consists of only four leaves (ISTC ip00157500). It is therefore certain that Lauer possessed in that year a press which could print one folio page (or two quarto pages) at a time, before he came up with that ingenious invention, the two-pull press, in 1472. For a full discussion of the technical development, see chapter 1.

Lauer's two editions of the *Facetiae* both belong to his earliest books. The quartos which he produced in this early period are all printed on half-sheets. The fact that as early as 1470 Lauer obviously had a press which could accommodate a large folio does not exclude the possibility that he also had a very small press on which he printed quarto pages one at a time. But it raises the question of whether we can determine the process with which his earliest quarto editions were printed: two pages combined in a forme, and therefore non-seriatim, printed on the large press, or a page at a time on a small press, following the sequence of the text, the pages to be combined on the half-sheet as typesetting and printing progressed.

The change in order of the facetiae in quire [c] of *Rome B* allows us to follow the printer's steps for a few paces, and even to pinpoint a few moments in time

in the printing house. For interpreting what happened, it is crucial to note that the contents of pages 14 and 15 in quire [c] form a continuous text; Facetia 55 begins on page 14 and continues without a break on page 15. Since these two pages belong, respectively, to half-sheets 4 and 3, this is in itself an indication that the method was *not* printing per page, and completing the conjugate pages of the half-sheets as soon as the first half was set and printed (as is deduced as the method of the first Oxford printer).[34] It is equally necessary to take note that the printing of page 13, with the stamped-in lines, must have preceded that of page 15, where the missing text of Facetiae 52 and 53 was printed. If the printer was setting by formes, he might well have swapped the two pages, but in that case the setting and printing of page 13 would not have preceded the setting and printing of pages 14 and 15, which would have belonged to formes completed earlier. Instead, what we observe can best be explained as a different tale: the book was produced with the earliest method, setting and printing recto and verso of the first half of a sheet (or in this case, half-sheet) seriatim, stacking the half-finished sheets, and, when reaching the section of text which would complete the sheets, setting and printing the other half of the sheets. That errors could be made with this method is not surprising. Such mishaps, the transposition of pages, are not uncommon in early printed books, and mostly leave traces in the form of discarded waste sheets. If the printer had insisted on presenting a correct text, an accurate re-creation of the text in his exemplar, he would have discarded the print run of any faulty half-sheets and started all over again. Instead, Lauer decided not to waste precious paper and effort, but to fudge it instead. This allows us to reconstruct the course of events: the compositor and printer progressed in textual order from page 1 to page 12, and half-sheet 5–6 was completed in perfect order. Then, after setting page 13 and combining its printing correctly with page 8 on half-sheet 4–7, the mistake was made, and not the following page which had been cast off in the text, but the page meant to be printed thereafter (which should have been page 15) was set and combined with the first page of half-sheet 4, that is, page 7. The whole print run was printed before the mistake was detected. Once it was noticed, the Master Printer did not discard half-sheet 4, which now contained pages 7, 8, 13, 15, but at this point improvised a repair job: he finished on p. 13 Facetia 51, which had now broken off in mid-sentence, by stamping in two lines with the missing text (strongly abbreviated), and decided to complete Facetia 55 on the next page, where enough room was left to follow it with Facetiae 52 and 53, which had so far been left out. The question remains open as to whether

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34   See pp. 221–225.

the error was the result of skipping a page by misreading the casting off in the exemplar, or perhaps a matter of picking up the wrong pile of half-sheets to be finished on the press.

Having resourcefully limited the damage, the printer would have convinced himself that there was no substantial loss of text—only one title (of Facetia 54) was missing, and after his repairs the text was resumed in the order of the exemplar. That as a result the two repartees by Redolphus which belonged together in the sequence of the four Redolphus stories (51–54) had become separated, was a minor scar in a far from coherent assemblage of anecdotes. In this way the printer confined textual disorder to two pages and still delivered a complete (if somewhat disordered) text. In the alphabetical index of *Rome B*, account was taken of the changed order of Facetiae 51–55.

The precise course of events has to remain hypothetical, but we may take the incident as indicating that it is highly likely that the procedure was printing single pages seriatim of the text on a small press. Not much later Georg Lauer equipped himself with a two-pull press and printed editions in-quarto on it, by formes, the first printer on whose production this innovation can be demonstrated.[35]

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35   See p. 25.

Poggio Bracciolini's *Historia fiorentina* in Manuscript and Print[1]

The survival of external documentation such as contracts or account books, the records of the commercial basis for the publication of books printed in the incunabula period, rarely coincides with the existence of a record of the production of the book in the printing house in the form of printer's copy. The two editions of the Nuremberg Chronicle are a famous and extensively researched example. Of two books printed by the press of Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence for which printer's copy survives—Bartolomeo Fonzio's commentary on Persius, and Donato Acciaioli's *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis*, both dated in 1478[2]—the Ripoli *Diario* has recorded little.[3] The exemplar of the Persius commentary was recognised for a long time, but has so far not been subjected to a thorough investigation.[4] Another such exception is Poggio Bracciolini's *Historia Florentina*, translated into Italian by his son Jacopo and printed in Venice by Jacques le Rouge in 1476.[5] The external source consists of two accounting

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1   Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia Florentina*, translated from the Latin into Italian by Jacopo Poggio. Venice, Jacques le Rouge, 8 March 1476. The manuscript which served as printer's copy for this edition is Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 321.

2   Respectively, ISTC if00241000, GW 10170, and ISTC ia00017000, GW 140; see List of printer's copy, nos. 17 and 18.

3   On the edition of Fonzio's commentary on Persius: Conway, Diario *of the Printing Press*, p. 29 and the entry in the Diario, p. 144. The printing of 300 copies (90 leaves in quarto) apparently took from late December 1477 to February 1478. On the *Expositio* on Aristotle: Piero Scapecchi, 'New Light on the Ripoli Edition of the Expositio of Donato Acciaioli', in D.V. Reidy (ed.), *The Italian Book 1465–1800: Studies Presented to Dennis Rhodes on His 70th Birthday* (London, 1993), pp. 31–33. See also List of printer's copy, nos. 17 and 18, pp. 79–80.

4   The manuscript exemplar of Fonzio's commentary on Persius is MS Ricc. 666 in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence. The recently made descriptive entry in ICCU's online database *Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane* includes a bibliography. I am grateful to Prof. Silvia Fiaschi for this and further references. See also her 'Una copia di tipografia', n. 16, pp. 267–284, with illustrations.

5   ISTC ip00873000, GW M34604. An illuminating introduction to the text is Eugenio Garin's 'Presentazione' in *Poggio Bracciolini, Historia fiorentina tradotta da Iacopo suo figlio* ([Arezzo], 1980).

records kept by Girolamo Strozzi, the merchant who commissioned its printing. As a member of the family of powerful Florentine merchants, Girolamo, born 1441 or 1442, took part in their enterprises from an early age. The contents of his *Giornale e Ricordanze*, preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, record the initiatives and financing of his publishing venture, as was revealed in a splendid study by the economic historian Florence Edler de Roover.[6]

Poggio's history was the smallest of three Italian translations which Girolamo Strozzi commissioned to be printed. He had already shown interest in Italian-language literature by buying or commissioning manuscripts of works by Dante and Petrarch. In January 1475 his account book includes a payment (apparently on behalf of his brother Marco) for a manuscript copy of the Italian translation by Donato Acciaioli of Leonardo Bruni Aretino's history of Florence, paid to the scribe Niccolò di Giampiero, who can be identified as Niccolò Fonzio, the younger brother of the humanist and scribe Bartolomeo Fonzio. Early in June of the same year another scribe, Ser Antonio di Jacopo, was paid for copying Jacopo Poggio's Italian translation of his father's history of Florence.[7] Girolamo, who had already undertaken several journeys to represent Strozzi interests in Naples, Venice, Bruges, and London, where his brother Marco was based, resided for 11 months in Venice, from the middle of June 1475 (having left Florence shortly after his payment to Ser Antonio) to May 1476; he was there as a representative of the firm of Filippo and Lorenzo Strozzi, who dealt mainly in luxury goods, but this apparently left him time to embark on a major publishing venture, for while in Venice he commissioned the printing of three books. Contact with Venetian printers must have inspired this venture, but unlike most Venetian printers and their financial backers, the Strozzis chose not to invest in the publishing of Latin works but in translations from Latin into Italian—a choice that brings to mind other merchants who became publishers, and who were to concentrate on works in the vernacular: for example, William Caxton, and several prominent merchants in Lyon.

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6   F. Edler de Roover, 'Per la storia dell'arte della stampa in Italia: Come furono stampati a Venezia tre dei primi libri in volgare', *La Bibliofilia*, 55 (1953), pp. 107–115. A slightly abbreviated version appeared as 'New Facets of the Financing and Marketing of Early Printed Books', *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, 27 (1953), pp. 222–230. The documents are quoted by the author as in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Carte Strozziane, V serie, n. 53, segnato C, 1473–1476. The 'Giornale e Ricordanze' covers the years 1473–1476. There is also a small book of 'debitori e creditori' for the years 1472–1476.

7   Edler de Roover points out that Ser Antonio was paid at a lower rate per quire than Niccolò Fonzio (25 soldi per quire against 30 soldi). He was presumably a lesser-rated scribe. See also below, note 13.

De Roover observes that we cannot be certain who in fact took the initiative—Girolamo, his brother Marco, or perhaps Giambattista Ridolfi, another young Florentine in Venice at that time, who may have introduced Girolamo to the printers. Ridolfi looked after their payments, and when Girolamo had left Venice, took care of dispatching copies of the printed books. Their choice fell first on the two histories of Florence, and after that on a much larger and more ambitious work, an Italian translation of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, of which by that time four splendid editions in Latin had already appeared. The printing of the two histories of Florence was completed by Jacques le Rouge, Leonardo Bruni's book on 12 February 1476, and Poggio's a few weeks later, on 8 March. Poggio's work, a very detailed military history, is in print a book of 116 leaves, half the size of Leonardo Bruni's much more wide-ranging history of the Florentine people, but it is likely that there was some overlap in their production.

The Pliny translation was by far the largest and most important book of the three, and also by far the most daring enterprise. Cristoforo Landino was commissioned to translate the text from Latin into 'fiorentina', for which he was paid 50 golden florins in March 1476, advanced by the Strozzi company but charged to Girolamo. Landino apparently worked on his translation in Florence while the printing of the two Florentine histories was taking place in Venice, and completed it just as the printing of the two other books had come to an end. The next step was now to commission a printer in Venice to print the Pliny. Nicolas Jenson had produced a very fine Latin edition in 1472, and he, not his friend and compatriot Jacques le Rouge, was contracted to print just over a thousand copies. Jenson, who had already printed more texts in Italian than most by that time,[8] may also have been better equipped to undertake the printing of a very large work in Royal folio format.

De Roover's study continues with the distribution and sale of the three books, much of which is documented in the surviving accounts. But what concerns us here more is what we can learn about the production of the smallest of the three books, Poggio's *Historia*, for its manuscript exemplar is there to be compared with what the Venetian compositors—supervised by a French Master Printer—made of a text translated into 'lingua toscana', or 'lingua fiorentina', as stated in the prohemium and the colophon.

The manuscript exemplar was acquired by the Beinecke Library, Yale University Library, in 1964. It is described by Barbara Shailor in her catalogue of

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8 ISTC records 14 titles in Italian printed by Jenson, only one of which, an Italian version of pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditationes* (GW 4784, ISTC ib00915500), is definitely later than the *Plinio*.

manuscripts, published in 1987.[9] In her provenance note she states that it had remained in the possession of the Strozzi family until at least the nineteenth century, as witnessed by its nineteenth-century binding with the Strozzi coat of arms. Later it belonged to the collection of Prince Piero Ginori-Conti (1865–1939), whence it changed hands until in 1964 it was sold to Yale by L.C. Witten. Shailor's catalogue description mentions the features that distinguish it as printer's copy: 'square brackets within text with various signs in the margin (some accompanied by arabic numerals) to mark page divisions; many leaves smudged with printer's ink'. During the H.P. Kraus fellowship granted to me in 1990, I had the opportunity to study it, along with the printed book.[10]

It is now impossible to be certain whether in 1475 the commissioning of the two manuscripts of the histories of Florence had anything to do with plans for having them printed. The Poggio manuscript now in the Beinecke Library is written on paper in a very regular Florentine cursive humanistic script, 37 long lines to the page, and divided into 14 quires of 10 leaves each. Its execution is sober, but it is illuminated with two fine initials in gold and colours, and headings and marginalia are in red. The characteristics of printer's copy in the Poggio manuscript, noted by Shailor, are, however, unmistakable, and fully confirmed by more extensive examination of the manuscript in conjunction with the book printed in 1476. As a model of regularity the manuscript surpasses even the printed edition, which is in folio format, collating a^{10} b c^8; d–h^{10} i k^6; l m^{10} n^8, 116 leaves.[11] Although the aspect of this book, in Le Rouge's roman type closely related to Jenson's roman,[12] is very regular, too, with a layout of 41 long lines to the page, the quire structure, with intermittent quires of 10, 6, and 8

9   Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University* (Binghamton, NY, 1987), pp. 128–130 (MS 321); for the use of the manuscript as printer's copy with reference to the unpublished Master in Fine Arts Thesis by C. Meyers (New Haven, 1983). The thesis, which I have consulted at the Beinecke Library, has some good illustrations of compositor's marks. The manuscript is illustrated in Barbara A. Shailor, *The Medieval Book: Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University* (New Haven, CT, 1988), pp. 108–110.

10   More recently I verified my findings with the help of a microfilm, kindly made available by the Beinecke Library, along with the two copies of the printed book in the British Library, C. 15.b.9 and IB. 20086.

11   The breaks in the collation formula as indicated in the catalogue entry of BMC V, p. 215.

12   Jacques le Rouge, Type 1: 113 (110)R is undoubtedly cast from the same matrices as Jenson's Type 1: 115R. The two Florentine histories are printed in the recasting of the type, its 20-line measurement reduced to 110 mm.

leaves, suggests that the production had not been in a single textual sequence, as the manuscript's undoubtedly was; moreover, the transition from quires f to g shows a departure from the layout with 41 lines, which indicates a problem with copy-fitting.

There is no sign that the manuscript was written in preparation for printing. An error in the identification of the scribe has to be noted here, although it does not affect the relation between exemplar and print. For identification of the scribe, Shailor consulted Albinia de la Mare and reports that she suggested Niccolò Fonzio. Dr de la Mare had previously recorded the two manuscripts of the *Historia fiorentina* in Italian now present in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, which are, respectively, Aretino's and Poggio's versions, as both written by Niccolò Fonzio, and she surmised that they were probably companion volumes, both being decorated with the coat of arms of the Strozzi family.[13] This is in conflict with the Strozzi accounts on which De Roover's study relied, which record a payment to Ser Antonio di Jacopo for copying Jacopo Poggio's translation. It turns out that Dr de la Mare's statement needs correction, and that the relation between the two manuscripts in Florence and the manuscript in the Beinecke Library is not as she and Shailor presented it.[14]

In preparation for the present study, I asked Professor Neil Harris to examine on my behalf in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale the two manuscripts of Aretino's and Poggio's histories in Italian. Professor Harris sent me his opinion (in consultation with Professor Alessandro Daneloni, University of Verona, on

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13   Annarosa Garzelli and Albinia de la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440–1525*, vol. I (Florence, 1985). Part II of this publication (pp. 393–574) consists of A. de la Mare, *New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence*, in which she lists scribes and their known works, including (pp. 515–516) Niccolò Fonzio. In this list she suggests that 'N. Fonzio no. 18, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Ms II. III. 54 (Gaddi ms. 13, Mazzatinti IX, p. 161)' can be identified as the manuscript of the translation of Leonardo Bruni's *Historia Florentina*, which was written late in 1474 and paid for in 1475. This is followed (no. 19) by a manuscript of the translation of Poggio's *Historia*, BNCF MS II, III. 86 (Gaddi ms 117, Mazzatinti IX, p. 167), which she (wrongly) identifies as written by the same scribe. She concluded that no. 19 appears to be a companion volume to no. 18.

14   The (erroneous) identification of the scribe of the Beinecke manuscript as Niccolò Fonzio puzzled Shailor, who noted in her catalogue (see n. 9 above): 'The relationship between this manuscript and one apparently completed in Florence, June 1475, by the scribe Ser Antonio di Jacopo for Girolamo Strozzi (who also commissioned, in 1476, the first printed edition of the work) is unclear. There is no doubt, however, that Beinecke MS 321 served as exemplar for the printed edition.'

the identity of the scribes), namely, that the two manuscripts are certainly not companion volumes, the Aretino being written on Median paper and the Poggio on smaller sheets of vellum. The Aretino has the colophon date 27 August 1473 (which may possibly be the date of Acciaioli's translation). Professor Daneloni distinguishes the two scribes, the Aretino's scribe being undoubtedly Niccolò Fonzio, and the scribe of Poggio not the same individual, but the same person as the scribe of the manuscript in the Beinecke Library; the hand in both manuscripts is presumably that of Ser Antonio di Jacopo, to whom payment is recorded in the Strozzi account, and who is otherwise unknown.[15] The Beinecke manuscript, written on paper, is perhaps slightly less elaborate than the vellum manuscript in Florence.[16] The paper manuscript taken to Venice was apparently the less precious of the two manuscripts of the Italian translation of Poggio's book owned by the Strozzi family.

When the manuscript of the Italian version of Poggio's *Historia Florentina*, written in the spring of 1475, was submitted to the printer in Venice towards the end of that year, the first step when preparing it for printing was to designate a division into four sections which would be allocated to different compositors for concurrent production. Even for such a small book, the practice of concurrent production of sections of the book must have been followed. This practice was widespread in the early years of printing, employed by, among others, the early printers in Rome, where, for example, the manuscript exemplar for the *editio princeps* of Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices*, in print a book of almost the same size (114 leaves in-folio), was divided between three compositors.[17]

There are several ways of establishing the division of the work into sections, or compositors' stints, which coincide only partly with the structure of the text into eight books, or the structure of the manuscript into 14 regular quires. The following schematic representation also shows the characteristics which distinguish the work of the three compositors who worked on the book:

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15   Professor Daneloni kindly informed me that he had not encountered a scribe named Ser Antonio in his research on Bartolomeo Fonzio. He suggests that he must have been a professional scribe.

16   I feel greatly indebted to Professor Harris and Professor Daneloni for giving of their time and expertise.

17   Printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1473, ISTC ip00300000, GW M31241. Its exemplar was discussed by Lombardi, 'L'editio princeps dei Rudimenta grammatices', pp. 123–150. See also List of printer's copy, p. 75, no. 12.

Section		MS	Ed.	Signatures	Set by
1	Books I–II	fol. 1–31^v, l. 27	a^{10} b c^8 (26 leaves) c8^b blank	with Arabic numerals	Compositor A no guide-letter
2	Books III–IV (minus 4 pages)	fol. 31^v, l. 28 (marked '2^a')–69^r, l. 13	d e f^{10} (30 leaves)	with Roman numerals	Compositor B guide-letters
3	end of Book IV– Book V, VI	fol. 69^r, l. 13–107^v (Book V is marked '3')	g h^{10} i k^8 k8^b blank (36 leaves)	with Roman numerals with points '.g.ii., .g.iii.' etc.	Compositor C occasional guide-letters
4	Books VII, VIII	fol. 108^r (marked '4')–139^v fol. 140 blank	l m^{10} n^8 n8 blank (27 leaves)	with Roman numerals with points	Compositor C occasional guide-letters

From this scheme it may be clear that the manuscript offered no convenient breaks, for its quire structure did not coincide with the beginnings of Books. The Master Printer, or whoever else did the initial estimate for dividing the text into four sections, tried to take account of the structure of the text by designating the beginnings of Books III, V, and VII as the beginnings of stints, and also trying to arrive at similar, if not quite equal, sections of text, leading to, successively, 51, 60, 71, and 54 pages of print.[18] At the beginning of this process he marked the second, third, and fourth stints with the Arabic figures 2, 3, and 4, apparently expecting that the third stint would coincide with the beginning of Book V. In two spots in the printed book the division between compositors' stints can be easily distinguished: between Books II and III, and again between Books VI and VII. In both cases a blank page marks the division, which between Books II and III coincides with distinct styles of signing the quires. The division between Books IV and V proved to be more difficult, especially so since here the Master Printer made a mistake in counting pages.

The second step of the preparatory process was the casting off of future pages; this can be followed in clear markings in only part of the manuscript,

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18 From the style of the signatures in the Leonardo Bruni *Historia*, it appears that the same three compositors worked on larger sections of 60, 40, 62, and 50 leaves, respectively. As in Poggio's *Historia*, the compositor identified there as Compositor C set the last two sections and was responsible for more than half of the work.
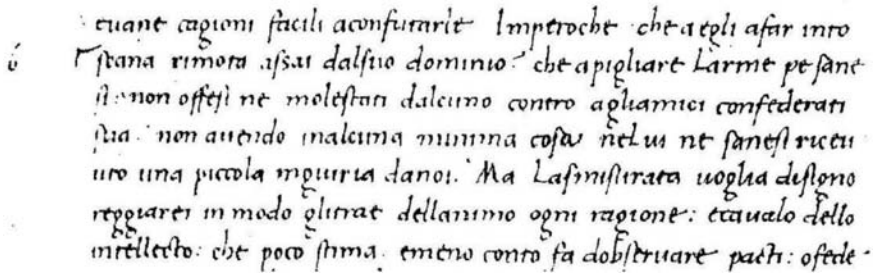
FIG. 7.1   *Casting off by Compositor B; the page marked in the margin with '6' was counted as
the sixth page in quire d. A mistake in counting was made on fol. 34ʳ, and the '6'
marks in fact the beginning of the seventh page, d4ª, which begins with 'rimota',
leaving 'inthoscana' (without a break) to end the previous page. Yale UL, Beinecke
MS 321. Fol. 35ᵛ (detail, ll. 1–7).*

where the initial casting off was marked by square hooks, blind or in light
ink, surrounding on the left-hand side the lines which were designated as the
beginning of the page. This is in section 2, where pages were thus marked from
the second page of the stint on. Generally, 45 lines of manuscript were counted
for one page of print.

At this point the Master Printer must have realised that the second stint,
including Books III and IV, could not end at or before the end of a quire of
the printed book, as had been possible for Book II, but that Book IV would go
on for several pages into the future quires g–k, designated as the third stint.
The beginning of the third stint, in the middle of text, therefore had to be
carefully calculated on the basis of counting pages. In the exemplar we can see
from the second page of Book III, on fol. 32ʳ, Arabic figures in the margin in a
sequence 2–60, with intervals of 45 lines, coinciding with the square brackets
demarcating sections of text (see Fig. 7.1). Obviously, the Master Printer was
counting 60 pages (that is, a stint of 3 quires of 10 leaves)—or at least thought
he was. On fol. 33ʳ there is a marginal '3', but the '4' does not come until 90 lines
later, on fol. 34ʳ. At the end of this exercise the master had counted 61 pages
instead of 60. But, as yet unaware of his mistake, he marked the beginning
of the third stint on fol. 69ʳ, in l. 13, by a large caret and a horizontal line,
taking not the beginning of the line but the beginning of the sentence 'Presa
cortona ...'.

Before the compositors set to work, one of the preparations might have been
the correction of the manuscript. There is, however, very little sign of a thor-
ough correction phase. There are no textual corrections, and the small correc-
tions of literals (e.g. a letter missed as in 'g⟨u⟩erra', 'aglia⟨d⟩uersarij') are sporadic
and discreet, and may even have been the scribe's. In the first three quires an

FIG. 7.2A   *Text preparation: a corrector indicates that the compositor should set ampersands instead of 'e'. Yale UL, Beinecke MS 321. Fol. 14ʳ (detail, ll. 1–10).*

FIG. 7.2B   *The compositor followed the corrector's indications and set ampersands five of the six times it was requested, but not in (l. 32) 'enellarte'. Munich BSB, Ink B-789, fol. b1ᵃ (detail, ll. 25–33).*

initial 'h' was occasionally inserted in forms such as '⟨h⟩auendo', '⟨h⟩auena', a correction followed in print; in the edition the compositors occasionally continue to spell such forms with 'h', although there were no longer marks present in the manuscript. It would therefore appear that in so far as marked, these corrections were early instructions issued in the printing house to the compositors, who were perhaps expected to remember these features from then on. There is no reason to assume that the translator was responsible for these corrections, as Shailor reports was suggested by de la Mare.

From fol. 11ʳ (the first page of the second quire of the manuscript) a large number of interlinear ampersands appear, to replace the conjunction 'e', which

the scribe habitually spelled without space before the following word (see Figs. 7.2A and B). These marks continue until fol. 21^r, l. 15. They were followed in print, where a rash of ampersands appears on the corresponding pages, largely to disappear after this point.

If using an ampersand for 'e' was a general printer's instruction, it was not followed through all the following quires, but Compositor C used ampersands fairly frequently. As we shall see, the scribe's habits of word division were generally not followed by the compositors, who had their own preferences.

The final sequence of marks in the manuscript was made by the compositors. They often (but not invariably) marked the completion of a page with a curly sign in the margin, large when Compositors A and B worked their stints, consistently smaller when it was Compositor C. They also intermittently produced blind scratches to mark the end of their pages. None of them were careful to keep to the marked pages of the casting off, and they were often several lines out, particularly Compositor B. They all ignored the manuscript's line endings; pages hardly ever ended at the end of a line in the manuscript, but they were marked by a vertical line placed within the manuscript line, as well as sometimes the marginal curl (see Fig. 7.3).

Two mistakes have come to light in the transition from one page to the next. The most serious occurs on the transition from d10^b to e1^a, corresponding to the exemplar fol. 43^v, ll. 33–34. Either the compositor marked the spot where he ended the page one line too low, or he inadvertently set 42 lines instead of 41, and the extra line failed to be transferred to e1^a. In any case, the result was that a whole line of the manuscript text was left out. In manuscript the full passage runs (underlined is what is missing in the printed book):

(a tower was built) 'Laquale oggi ancora sichiama Latorre della fossa che scoprissi tutto el paese / eueduti nimici facessi cenno. <u>Vedendo Galeazo Lasperanza sua essere riuscita uana eiprouidimento</u> grande fatto …'. The words 'grande fatto' are the first on e1^a.

A smaller error occurs on the transition from n1^a to n1^b, where the word 'mandorono' was left out. We can also deduce from these accidents that after typesetting no great effort was made to check the result by stringent proofreading. This is reinforced by a few uncorrected typographical errors so far noticed: 'iempo' (for 'tempo') on e1^a, l. 25, 'leprprie' (for 'leproprie') on 12^a, l. 22.

The vertical dashes to mark the ends of pages show beyond doubt that the mode of setting was seriatim, within the designated stints. The compositors seem to have worked happily through their allotted parts of the text from beginning to end, not particularly bothered to end pages precisely as previously marked, but completing their stints within the limits set by the casting off. Except once. Compositor B encountered a serious problem of copy-fitting. The

florentia chiamorono. Dellantica cura poche reliquie nerefta
no come e alcuni muri delle therme appiccate conuoui bedi
fici: dalletquali ogoi lauia priſso aquelle fichiama therme: et
alcuni archi dipietre dunaqueducto fuori della porta afaenza:
e eltempio nobile dimarte: elquale attempi noſtri ſumptuofiſſi
mo econſecrato afan Giouanni batiſta. El nome del campido
glio edella piazza publica uicina aquello aſimilitudine del
la cura diroma infino aqueſto di perſeuera. Accreſciuta aſſai
edicitadini tdirichezze firenze ubidi allo imperio roma
no fino attempo di Totila re de gothi, dalquale dicono eſſere
ſtata preſa ediſfacta: circa ſecento anni dopo laſua hedificatio
ne: dipoi rifacta da Carlo magno doppo lacquiſtato imperio
intorno atrecento anni ſtata diſtrta euota dabitatori furicer
racolg acitadini ſuoi diſperſi inuarij luoghi. Tornate lerel
quie decitadini alla antica patria inbrieue tempo molto
crebbono emulriplicarono. Duo conſuli: et cento huomini di
matura era equali fuſſino capo della loro re p. nel princi
pio creati per ſenato loro prouocati conuarie guerre. fi da
fieſolani inuidioſa della nuoua cura ſidaglialtri uicini de
gnamente econgrande animo ſe ebeni loro difeſi. ſotropoſti
allimperadon che dopo Carlo regnarono: dapretori dequali
erano gouernati con brieui confini fi ſtecono. Othone primo
imperadore prolungo loro econfini fino aſei miglia: elqua
le chiamarono elcontado: Cento trenta noue anni dopo laſua
rehedificatione. La iniquita dipoi dichi ſignoreggiaua piu
preſto informa ditiranni che dibuoni principi perturbando
didi indi conuarie moturie lacitta luonſtrinſe auendicarſi
inliberta. Laprima loro rebellione nacque per difecto di
henrico quarto imperadore nimico del romano pontefice
acui efiorentini preſtauano fauore. anni cento dopo Othone
edalla natiuita di criſto mille ottanta. Elquale nondime
no dipoi per capiont che efiorentini Limandorono aiuto
alla impreſa che fece contro aſaracini prolungho econfini
loro fino adieci miglia. Fortificata lacitta edicitadini edifor
ze ediuiſa inquatro parti: aciaſcuna fu dato ilſuo conſolo.
elquale reneſſi ragione dipoi agiunroui due altre parti an
cora loro ebbono illoro conſolo. Ma auendo pocho luogho

FIG. 7.3 *The compositor marked the spot where he ended page a3ᵃ with a strong line in the text and a curly mark in the margin. Yale UL, Beinecke MS 321, fol. 4ʳ.*

third stint, beginning halfway through the book with quire g, must have been worked simultaneously with the first and second stints, and must have been in type and printed when, as Compositor B made his progress through quire f[10], he discovered that he needed to fit in an extra page. This was due to the error made by the Master Printer when he counted 61 pages instead of 60, as noted above. Compositor B began to respond to the need to fit text intended for five pages into the space of four when he began to set page f9ᵃ, with space for four pages left. There are more blind marks than usual on the corresponding page in the manuscript, perhaps signals that space had to be saved. By contracting and abbreviating words, but not losing any text, he managed to fit 57½ lines of manuscript text (instead of the standard 45 lines) onto page f9ᵃ. He continued with 57½ lines of the manuscript again on f9ᵇ, and 59½ lines on f10ᵃ. Having thus gained 39½ lines, he was by the end of page f10ᵃ still just over five lines short of the original casting off, and had to get in 50 lines on f10ᵇ, which would ensure the seamless transition to quire g. This he was obliged to achieve, for there was no possibility of accommodation: quire g, set by Compositor C, must already have been in print. He managed this by continuing the contractions of the previous pages for another 16 lines, then relaxed and stayed close to the exemplar. Although he contracted ll. 39–41 again, he ended his page two lines shorter than on the previous three pages, with the standard 41 lines. As an example of contracted text, here are the first two lines of f10ᵇ, when the end was already in sight:

Ms, fol. 68ʳ, l. 34:   … insieme dinon potere contrarre ofa / re alcuna conuen-
                       tione senon.
Ed, f10ᵇ, l. 1:   īsieme dinō poteř cōtrarre o fař alcūa cōuentiōe senō

Ms: dicomune uolunta. ne esser / honesto domandar ilRe Lega essendo ac-
      campato
Ed: di cōmūe uolōta: ne es||ser onesto domādar ilre lega essēdo acāpato

Ms: ne terreni / de sanesi come nimico ne lonor loro richiedere dimostrare
Ed: neterēi de sanesi come nimicoᵉ||lonor loro richiedeřdimostrare

Contraction of forms was not the only means by which Compositor B gained space. He was able to enlarge the size of the page from the standard 225×130 mm (excluding the signature) to 234×141 mm, equalling about half a line of text per page.[19] He added two lines to pages f9ᵃ⁻ᵇ and f10ᵃ, and printed 43 lines

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19   A similar measure, noted in BMC V. p. 73, was taken by Nicolas Jenson (or rather one of his

instead of 41 lines. The extra length was possible because these pages came at the end of the quire and did not need leaf signatures. The 9 mm of additional width, and the additional lines amounted to, in total, 855 mm of extra space per page, or, with an em measurement of Le Rouge's type being approximately 5.5 mm, about 155 em per page, or 455 em in three pages, equalling just over 10 lines of text. Obviously, the contractions and abbreviations were more effective in manipulating the space the text was to occupy.

The final pages of quire f do not show Compositor B's typical behaviour. Generally his spelling and occasional contractions were not distinct from those of the other two compositors. As shown in the table above, the distinct style of leaf signatures, coinciding with the division of copy into four sections marked in the exemplar, is in itself a strong indication that three compositors worked on the text, designated as Compositors A (section 1), B (section 2), and C (section 3 and continuing with 4). Since it is obvious that Compositor B had to make an effort to fit his allocated text to the beginning of the stint of Compositor C, we know that C certainly worked concurrently with A and B, but there is no indication as to whether Compositor B had started before Compositor A had finished his stint, because it ends with a blank page. It seems probable, however, that the way the printing house was organised was for the three compositors to work simultaneously. The exemplar would, of course, have been in quires, unbound.

When such a division between compositors is evident, the question has to arise as to whether the compositors who identify themselves by the distinct style of the leaf signatures[20] show distinctions in the treatment of the text they were setting. As ever, they are anonymous as individuals, their previous experience unknown. Jacques le Rouge is not known to have published any other works in Italian, but that does not mean that the compositors had never set Italian texts before. Le Rouge's close associate Nicolas Jenson published 14 titles in Italian, only two of which (the translations of Plinius and of pseudo-Bonaventura *Meditationes*) are of a later date than the two Florentine histories. One or more of Le Rouge's compositors may well have previously worked for Jenson.

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compositors) when he found himself with too much space when setting the middle pages of quire n[10] of Antoninus, *Summa theologica*, part III (1479, GW 2185, ISTC ia00872000). They were several lines short, and the column width was reduced to 45 mm from 51 mm.

20   A minor technical difference between them is that Compositor B set guide letters in the spaces left open for initials, Compositor A did not, and Compositor C did so only occasionally.

Of the three compositors, only Compositor B got into a situation where he had to compress the text, partly because he had been driven into a tight corner by the mistake in the precalculation of pages. When following his progress from the beginning of his stint, we can see that in quire d he was usually up to five or six lines in advance of the casting off, but stayed closer to the casting off in quires e and f. He was obviously an accurate worker. Even when abbreviating as much as he could, he never deliberately skipped a word of the text, nor did the two others. It should also be noted that none of the compositors ever substituted a word: the translator's vocabulary and verbal forms of the Tuscan language remained entirely intact in the printed version of the text. We can surmise that a strict instruction had been issued to the compositors to follow the text of the exemplar verbally, and to do so accurately.

Accurately following text—never losing a word—does not imply, however, that there could be no deviation from its presentation in the form of spelling and other adaptations. In the stints of all three compositors we find such deviations from the exemplar, never consistently, but with enough frequency to detect patterns of preferred word divisions and spellings. They are mostly common to all three.[21]

The most constant and striking of such deviations is in the division of words. The Florentine scribe, as noted above, routinely attached the conjunction 'e' to the following word, without space. The compositors often introduced a space there; Compositors A and B made scarce use of the ampersand when not directed to do so by a correction in the exemplar. But there are also large stretches of text where 'e' is set as written in the exemplar, the compositor apparently following the exemplar mechanically, his mind elsewhere. The far less frequent conjunction 'o' is usually set followed by a space, diverging from the exemplar: 'ofussi buona a nulla > o fussi buona anulla'. Similarly, the definite article, written by the scribe without a space, was almost consistently set as a separate unit: 'lalega > la lega'; 'lacura > la cura'; 'gliaduersarij > gli aduersarii'; 'agliallogiamenti > agli allogiamenti'. The examples are innumerable.

Also pervasive are the changes in word division between prepositions (a, con, di, in oltra, per) and substantives or place names. But here the compositors often linked forms which were separate in the exemplar, especially with 'per' and 'di': 'di pisa > dipisa'; 'di sicilia > disicilia'; 'de uinitiani > deuinitiani'; 'per comandamento > percomandamento'. But the opposite is also found: 'con-

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speranza > con speranza'; 'perconseruare lapace > per conseruare lapace' (*sic*); 'perdifecto > per difecto'; 'inpochi > in pochi'; 'oltraquesto > oltra questo'; 'perla uia > per la uia'. In these cases, 'e' is often found linked with the preposition: 'perterra eper mare > per terra eper mare', but 'econtanta > e con tanta'.

The word 'si' in its many functions is usually spelled in the edition as a separate unit: 'sitractaua > si tractaua'; 'simuto > si muto'; 'siritorno > si ritorno'. The word 'non' often got separated: 'nonlasciassione > non lasciassione'; 'nondimeno > non dimeno'.

At times compositors seemed to run through the text, ignoring the careful punctuation of the exemplar; at other times it was strictly observed. Throughout the work capitalisation is strikingly deviant. Titles such as Re, Duca, Conte, Signor, and Signoria, all written with capitals by the scribe, are consistently spelled with lower case. But 'Messer', usually abbreviated as 'ᴍ/' in the exemplar, gets spelled out with a capital in print. The presentation of proper names often deviates from capitalisation in the exemplar: 'Pierogambacurta Signor … > Piero gambacorta signor …'; 'Conte Sanesi e Malatesti > conte sanesi emalatesti'; 'ᴍ/. Palla Strozzi > Messer palla strozi'; 'ᴍ/ Piero becchanugi > Messer piero becca nugi'; 'elCarmigniola > elcarmigniola'. Occasionally the scribe begins a sentence with a capital (after punctuation) which is not followed by the compositor. This was one of the ways Compositor B saved space.

In spelling, however, there are occasionally changes suggesting a shift away from the habits of the Florentine scribe. Again, none of them are consistently applied, but they occur frequently. They fall in line with the changes noted by Paolo Trovato in his analysis of the language in reprints of texts in Italian, where he noted the introduction of some northern forms and of Latinisation of spelling.[22] In the Appendix, examples are listed for a number of variants in spelling occurring in the sections I have collated.

None of these deviations from the exemplar signify a modification of idiom, only of the presentation of the text. Apparently, the compositors 'Auinegia', as the colophon has it, tried to avoid some of the conventions of the Florentine scribe, although many still slipped through. The book announced itself in its prohemium and colophon as written in 'lingua Toscana', or 'lingua Fiorentina',

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22   See Paolo Trovato's observations of similar morphological adaptations in the edition of Macchiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine* (Rome, 1532), in his 'Per un censimento dei manoscritti di tipografia in volgare (1470–1600)', in M. Santagata and A. Quondam (eds.), *Il libro de poesia dal copista al tipografo* (Modena, 1989), pp. 43–56 (p. 50); also of particular relevance is Paolo Trovato, *Con ogni diligenzia corretto: La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari Italiani 1470–1570* (Bologna, 1991), Chapter ɪᴠ, 'Prime, seconde, terze edizioni (1470–1485)', pp. 103–119.

and the language remained faithful to that announcement, even if there are constant changes in the presentation of the language forms.

The changes, slight and inconsistent as they are, are not insignificant. They form part of a process which can best be recognised in successive printed editions of vernacular texts, but the transition from a contemporary manuscript tradition to print is not essentially different. In the transition from print to print, or manuscript to print, features were modified or removed which would be associated with a region that was smaller than the expected readership; in this case, the features were Florentine scribal habits. Printed books were destined to reach an ever-widening world. Girolamo and Marco Strozzi intended the Florentine histories to be sold in Florence and to expatriate Florentines like themselves, but also to others who might be attracted by the names of the great humanists.[23] They must have insisted that the language retain the authentic Florentine voices of the Poggio family, for it is clear that verbal changes were not allowed. For the quality of the text, a faithful reproduction of the version provided by Jacopo Poggio, the Strozzis relied on the accurate copying by the Florentine scribes. But in the new medium in which the Poggios' *Historia* was presented, the compositors apparently had the last word.

Appendix: Variants in Language Forms Noted in Specimen Collations

Latinisation:

> 'sette > septe'; 'scrisse > scripse'; 'imbasciadori > inbasciadori'; 'giusta > iusta'; 'giustitia > iustitia'.
> tt > ct: 'tutto > tucto' (the exemplar very occasionally spells 'tucto'); 'fatto > facto'; 'battalgia > bactaglia'; 'combatte > combacte'; 'gittare > gictare'.

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23   Edler de Roover, 'Per la storia dell'arte della stampa' (see n. 6 above), notes (pp. 113–114) that soon after publication copies were sold to many booksellers in Florence, but also to booksellers in Rome and Siena, and to family members in Pisa and Naples. In the summer of 1476 Giambattista Ridolfi sent copies from Venice to the Medici branch in Bruges and to Marco Strozzi in London. In 1477, three chests containing 70 copies of each of the histories were sent to a new agent, Latino de'Pigli in Florence, for further distribution, with instructions not to let each bookseller have more than three copies at a time. In all, about 500 copies were sold in a single year.

Change the regional character:

insertion of h in forms of the verb 'havere', occasionally marked in the exemplar:

> 'auessi > hauessi'; 'auendo> hauendo'; 'auena > hauena'; 'auute> hauute';
> but: 'honesto > onesto'.
> aspirated form: 'intoscana > in thoscana'.
> u > o: 'volunta > volonta'; 'multitudine > moltitudine'.
> i > e: 'dinegate > denegate'.
> e > a: 'senza > sanza'.

Other spelling variations, not necessarily with regional significance:

> Spelling c > ch: 'recaua > rechaua'; 'cercare > cerchare'; 'diciascuna > di
> ciaschuna'; 'antica > anticha'; 'toccar > tocchar' but also 'tocchar >
> toccar' and when copy-fitting; 'stracchi > strachi'.
> nn > mn: 'eldanno > eldamno'.
> zz > z: 'mezzo > mezo'; 'fortezza > forteza'; 'fierezza > fiereza'; 'richezza >
> richeza'.
> ggi > gi: 'la maggior parte > la magior parte'; 'maggior > magior'.
> Drop e at end of infinitive: 'essere > esser'; 'uolere > uoler'; 'domandare >
> domandar'; 'chiedere > chieder'.
> Drop consonant in verbal form: 'tornerebbe > tornerebe'; 'potrebbe >
> potrebe'; 'ricuserebbe > ricuserebe'.
> Avoid doubling of other consonants: 'nella > nela'; 'innanzi > inanzi';
> 'raccolte > racolte'; 'accioche > acioche'.

The First Book Printed in Oxford

The short-title description of the first book printed in Oxford is:

> Tyrannius Rufinus, *Expositio symboli apostolorum*. Oxford, [Printer of Rufinus], 17 December '1468' [1478]. in-4⁰. [a–d⁸ e¹⁰]. 42 leaves.[1]

Its printer did not reveal his name in the three books he printed, nor can he be identified in archival documents. What we know of him is exclusively through the work he produced in Oxford late in 1478 and in 1479. There is only a little of it: his whole known production consists of three quarto books printed in a fount of type that was first used in Cologne by an anonymous jobbing printer working for the enterprising merchant Gerard ten Raem. He was one of several Cologne merchants who in the 1470s financed the publication of small books; in the case of Gerard ten Raem, they were schoolbooks and two editions of the *Modus confitendi*, a popular work of guidance for parish priests, all with dates in 1477 and 1478. When this small venture was nearing its end, someone was apparently sent to Oxford with a small supply of the same type. Perhaps it was an experiment by the Cologne entrepreneur: to bring production to the consumers—in a famous university—instead of shipping printed books overseas and paying import duties when they had reached an English port.

If so, the man who was sent cannot have been the same man who had set the books for the short-lived enterprise in Cologne, for especially the first book he produced, Tyrannius Rufinus, *Expositio symboli apostolorum*, stands out as the work of someone without any significant experience as a compositor but with remarkable confidence in manipulating the text.[2] The two books printed in 1479 show improved skill in typesetting and equipment, as well as an extension of the fount of type. Better technical support may have been sent from Cologne.

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1 An early version of this study was published in the second section of Albinia C. de la Mare and Lotte Hellinga, 'The First Book Printed in Oxford: The *Expositio Symboli* of Rufinus', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1978), pp. 184–244, with an additional comment, 'Three Notes on Printer's Copy: Strassburg, Oxford, Subiaco', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1987), pp. 194–204.

2 Duff 234, STC 21443, ISTC ir00352000, GW M08077, BMC XI, p. 234. Text edition: M. Simonetti in *Corpus Christianorum*, ser. lat. 2° (Turnhout, 1961), pp. 127–182.

Rufinus's *Expositio symboli apostolorum* was followed by a scholastic tract, Aegidius de Columna, *De peccato originali*, with the date 14 March 1479. Not until the printing of the third book, Aristoteles, *Ethica ad Nicomachum*, in the Latin translation of Leonardo Bruni Aretino, was a publication by the first Oxford printer related to the curriculum of the university. The printing of the first two books therefore may have been opportunistic, enforcing the impression that a press was set up as an experiment without any clear advance planning.

The Rufinus text as printed in Oxford has spectacular flaws, the most notorious being its colophon date, 17 December 1468, which even as early as 1735 was recognised as doubtful,[3] and indeed is almost inexplicable. Since the other two books both have colophons including the date 1479, and are printed in the same fount of type and on related paper stocks, and since the type is not known to have existed before 1477, it is now generally agreed that the year date in the Rufinus must be read as '1478'. Another flaw in the Oxford Rufinus edition that meets the eye before further intensive study of the text is its irregular typesetting; pages with wide gaps contrast with pages with very compressed typesetting, sometimes even side by side facing each other (see Fig. 8.2, p. 223).

The *Expositio symboli apostolorum* is a patristic text, often found in the collections of letters of St Jerome (who was his contemporary adversary), to whom it is sometimes erroneously ascribed. By 1478 the text had been printed at least seven times, from c. 1468 in six editions of St Jerome's letters, and only once, c. 1472, as a separate text, by Ulrich Zell in Cologne.[4] It might have been expected that the Zell edition would be the source for the Cologne printer in Oxford, but this is not so.

In 1978, precisely 500 years after the little book was printed, Professor Albinia de la Mare identified the manuscript that had served as printer's copy for the Oxford book, and with that the first patron of the Oxford printer. She observed that a copy of the printed book had an opening miniature depicting St Jerome in a landscape, which was obviously based on the miniature in a manuscript

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3   Conyers Middleton, *A dissertation concerning the origin of printing in England, shewing that it was first introduced and practised by our countryman William Caxton, at Westminster: and not, as is commonly believed, by a foreign printer at Oxford* (Cambridge, 1735).

4   Albinia de la Mare listed the early printed editions of Jerome's works in which the *Expositio* by Rufinus was included in: De la Mare and Hellinga, 'The First Book Printed in Oxford', see n. 1 above, Appendix II (pp. 230–238). To her list should be added the edition of Jerome's Letters, Mainz, Peter Schoeffer, 7 September 1470 (GW 12424–12425, ISTC ih00165000) fol. [b]10[b], sqq. The edition printed by Ulrich Zell in Cologne, c. 1472 (VK 1057, BMC I, p. 191, ISTC ir0035100, GW M08074) is a different version of the text.

of the text. This manuscript, which belongs to the same branch in the tradition of the text as the Oxford edition, is now in the British Library, with the shelf mark Sloane MS 1579; it was written in Florence in the 1440s in a 'humanistic' hand, and it has an owner's inscription of 'Vespasianus', who can plausibly be identified as the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci, who is known to have had at least one client in Oxford. A later ownership mark is of Robert Thompson, who can be identified as a graduate scholar and bursar of Magdalen Hall in Oxford, 1476–1477. The miniature and painted border in the printed book had drawn Professor de la Mare's attention because such illumination and decoration in early printed English books is exceptional. She established that it was closely related to the miniature in the Sloane manuscript, the main difference being that what are background castles in the Italian miniature had become English churches in the printed book. But the most important difference is that the incunable includes a coat of arms, which J.C.T. Oates had already identified as belonging to the Goldwell family, and most probably to James Goldwell, bishop of Norwich 1472–1499.[5] Bishop Goldwell (d. 1499) is well known as an early collector of printed books. He bequeathed as many as 30 incunabula to All Souls College, Oxford, which are still there, including a copy of Fust and Schoeffer's Duranti of 1459, which, according to its inscription, he had bought in Hamburg in 1466.[6] Although the miniature and coat of arms in a copy of the first Oxford book do not provide absolute proof that he was the owner of the manuscript, it seems probable; someone who clearly appreciated seeing texts in print encouraged the printing of the Rufinus text modelled on the manuscript from Florence, and Bishop Goldwell certainly fits this role. We may assume that it was he who made the connection with the printer, newly arrived from Cologne. From the way the latter treated the manuscript we can observe that he set about his task with caution, while in the fount he used and in the process of typesetting there are unmistakable elements of improvisation.[7]

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5   Oates 4159.

6   Dennis E. Rhodes, *A Catalogue of Incunabula in All the Libraries of Oxford University Outside the Bodleian* (Oxford, 1982), p. 406 (index of provenances). The Duranti is no. 722. Goldwell had been fellow of All Souls from 1441 to 1452 (ODNB).

7   The type used by the Rufinus printer is reproduced in BMC XI, Plates 22–23. It is practically identical to that used by the anonymous printer for Gerard ten Raem, but the fount is less extensive; the Cologne version included nearly 50 more contracted sorts and ligatures in the lower case. The founts were analysed by Ernst Voulliéme in *Gesellschaft für Typenkunde* no. 141 (Ten Raem), and by Kurt Ohly, ibid. no. 2460 (Oxford). On the relation between the founts belonging to the Cologne printers Ulrich Zell and Petrus de Olpe, and the Deventer printers Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda, see Severin Corsten, *Die Anfänge des Kölner Buchdrucks*
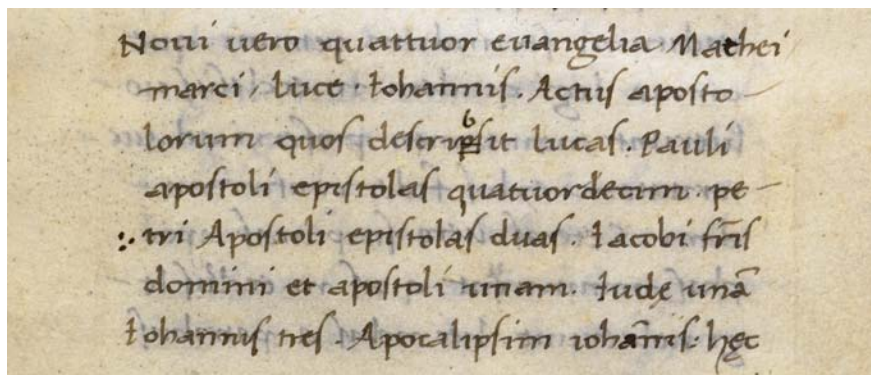
It is even hard to escape the impression that the Rufinus edition was the work of only one or two men; it was certainly not the product of a full-fledged printing house, such as that set up in Oxford by Theodericus Rood a few years later, short-lived as that enterprise was also doomed to be.

Against this background, in which much has to remain conjectural, the transmission of the text from the manuscript into print offers by far the most tangible evidence of what passed through the hands, and the mind, of an inexperienced compositor. The most striking feature of this particular instance of the transition from manuscript to print is the large number of deviations from the text of his exemplar which the compositor permitted himself.

The visible traces of the presence of the manuscript in the printing house are not as helpful as they often are in establishing the compositor's practice. The casting off of the text in preparation of typesetting is exceptionally discreet. Three or four small dots combined to form a small pattern are the only marks indicating where pages should begin. Quires, or page numbers within the quires, as found in other printer's copy, are not noted.

We can see that for the first quire of 16 pages the number of lines counted off varied between 28 and 31 (the majority had 29 lines). In the following quires [b] to [e] the counting is more regular, with a few exceptions counting 28 lines, the

(Cologne, 1957), pp. 3–7, 50–52. See also Lotte Hellinga, 'The first Oxford Compositor and his Printer's Copy', in the joint publication with Albinia C. de la Mare, see n. 1 above. Improvisations in the fount of the first Oxford book are substituting q with upside-down b and broken h.

exceptions never below 27 or above 29 lines. There is no sign of division of copy; this may not be unexpected in a small quarto book of 80 pages, and certainly not in what may have been a one-man enterprise.

The distribution of watermarks in all copies examined shows that the book was printed on divided half-sheets, implying that the press was a one-pull press. There are quartos printed on divided half-sheets printed with formes of two pages, with an imposition schedule that is the same as that for editions in-folio.[8] In such a schedule, the outer forme of the half-sheets in a quire would combine a recto with a verso (for example, page 1 recto with page 8 verso—or pages 1– 16—in a quire of eight leaves or four half-sheets), the inner forme a verso with a recto (1 verso with 8 recto, or pages 2–15). This is not the process followed in the Oxford Rufinus, for some copies, not pressed by repeated re-binding, allow to observe the indentation caused by the impression; this shows that all recto pages were printed before the verso pages.[9] This observation excludes the possibility that the book was printed with an imposition schedule which combined recto and verso pages for a single pull of the press, and can be confirmed by further analysis of the relation between copy and print.

Where it is possible to compare a printed result with its exemplar, the relation of the page-ends in the printed text to the casting off usually reveals in what order pages were set: the general experience is that a compositor would only keep precisely to the page-end indicated by the casting off when the mark indicated the beginning of a page already set in type (and possibly printed). Where pages could be set consecutively, most compositors would more often than not feel free to deviate from the marked spot, and would often indicate by a small mark in the line of text where they actually ended the page. When the compositor of the Rufinus made use of the liberty not to stick precisely to the casting off, he did so invariably at the end of recto pages. This confirms the observation of the order of typesetting and printing: recto pages before verso pages. But remarkably, he also stayed within the limits set by the casting off on many recto pages where there was no obvious need to do so. In a list recording all the page-ends of the printed book in relation to the casting off,

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8 Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer stated that this was the procedure of the early presses in Paris in her 'Aux origines de l'imprimerie française: L'atelier de la Sorbonne et ses mécènes (1470–1473)' and 'Le deuxième atelier typographique de Paris: Cesaris et Stol', both reprinted in her *La lettre et le texte: Trente années de recherches sur l'histoire du livre* (Paris, 1987), pp. 161–187 and 189–212. See also the essay 'Press and Text', pp. 18, 22.

9 This was first observed by Paul Needham in the copy now at Yale, Beinecke Library, an observation which I could later confirm myself.

nec de illa vinea israelitica : quam edup
erat dominus de egipto et plantauerat
in cornu in loco vberi Sed erat siluester
id est ex filia alienigenarum · et ideo sil
uester est appellatus qua israelitice vii
tis nequaquam palmitibus pullulasset sz
et quod dixit propheta xenium conuenie
ter actauit · tunc enim herodes et pyla
tus vt euangelium testatur · ex inimi
cis in concordiam reuocati sunt   Et ve
lud reconciliacionis fine xenium vinctum
sibi inuicem mittebant ihesum   Quid
interest dummodo ihesus cultus vbiqz dif
sidentes reconcilet et pacem reparet con
cordiam reddat   Vnde etiam de hoc
scriptum est in iob ·   Dominus recon
ciliat corda principum terre ·   Refer
tur item · quod cum pylatus vellet eum
dimittere omnis populus succlamauert
crucifige crucifige eum ·   Pronunciat
hoc xeremias propheta sic dicens ex per
sona ipsius domini : ſfacta est inquit
hereditas mea michi · sicut leo in silua
dedit super me vocem suam · propterea
exosus sum eam·   Et propterea inquit

dereliqui domum meam·Et iterum·alibi
dicat Super quem aperuistis os vestrum a
aduersus quem relaxastis linguas vestras
Cum iudicaretur scribitur tacuisse Mul
te de hoc scripture testantur · Inpsalmis
dicitur ſfactus sum sicut homo non audi
ens · et non habens in ore suo increpacio
nes Et iterum ego autem sicut surdus non
audiebam·et sicut mutus qui non aperu
it os suum Et iterum alius propheta · si
cut agnus coram tondente se sic non ape
ruit os suum imhumilitate iudicium eius
sublatum est Imposita ei scribitur corona
spinea Audi de hoc i caticis canticorum su
per iniquitate ierusalem mirātis de iniuria
filij patris voce a dicētis·exite et videte
filie ierusalem coronam qua coronauit eū ma
ter sua·sed a de spinis ita alius propheta
memorat·a expectaui vt faceret vuā·fe
cit autem spinas a non iusticiā sed clamore
Verumtamē vt misterij secreta cognoscas
Oportebat eum qui peccata mūdi venit
auferre·eciā terre maledicta purgare·que
peccāte protoplasto·sētēciā preuaricacio
nis acceperat dicēte domino Maledicta

FIG. 8.2   *The setting of the verso page contrasts with that of the facing recto page. Tyrannius*
Rufinus, Expositio Symboli apostolorum. *Oxford, 17 December 14[78]. London, BL,*
167.b.26, fol. [c]4^b, [c]5^a. © British Library Board.

there are 20 recto pages which the compositor ended conforming to casting
off, almost the same number as that of the 21 recto pages where he deviated
by a few words. This means that so far the evidence for the order of typeset-
ting may appear contradictory: if rectos were always typeset and printed first,
the entire text could have been printed seriatim. But this interpretation fails
to provide an explanation for the need for copy-fitting, which is evident, since
none of the ends of the verso pages show the 'freedom' in ending at spots in
the text which deviate from the casting off (as can be observed on 21 recto
pages). But why did he end so many recto pages as prescribed by the casting
off? On this ground alone we may decide that the compositor's behaviour is
unusual, contributing to the impression that we see here someone taking cau-
tious steps in unfamiliar terrain. That the result was sometimes unfortunate
can be made clear by showing two facing pages, the verso page full of 'pigeon-
holes', the opposite recto densely set, and moreover short of three words at the
end.

But there is another factor to be taken into account. Collation of the entire
text shows a large number of variants between exemplar and printed book.
Albinia de la Mare and I compiled a list of all variants (a truly joint effort)

and noted a total of 90 instances.[10] They include misreadings and wrong-sort typos, but we also identified some 20 variants as instances of copy-fitting, and in addition there are independent readings, probably conjectural, and readings for which the compositor apparently consulted another textual source.

The instances of copy-fitting are spectacular. The text was manipulated, usually by expansion, in order to produce a block of text in reasonably regular setting that would fill the page. Insecure as he may have felt when setting type, this compositor was supremely confident in finding formulaic textual variations which did not substantially change its meaning. Faced with room to spare on a page, he did not resort to compositorial techniques for spacing out, but instead expanded the text. Shortening by omission of one or more words happened far less frequently.

An extreme example is found on [a]6^b, a page for which first 29, then 27 lines had been counted off. That this required space to be filled did not escape the compositor's notice at the beginning, where in the first four lines he spliced in five extra words into the text, another three in l. 7. The following 9 lines were reproduced faithfully as in the exemplar, but in the bottom 9 lines of the page, he liberally expands:

Ms. 10^r, ll. 10–11	accipiendum est	… xp̄us …
Ed. [a]6^b, ll. 16–17	accipiendum esse arbitramur	… cristus filius dei omnipotens …

With 24 lines instead of the usual 25 he leaves the page one line short. And the final lines are freely expanded:

Ms. 10^r, ll. 18–19	per filium. sic et apostolus dicit. Quia per ipūm
Ed. [a]6^b, ll. 23–24	per filium. sicuti ⁊ apostolica vox affirmat vbi dicitur quoniam per ipsum ‖

Even more intrusive is the following example on [e]6^b, also a page of 24 lines:

10   The list is included as Appendix III in our joint publication (see n. 1 above), pp. 238–242.

Ms. 47ᵛ, ll. 4–7	... modo legendum sit quod dixit ||		Mortalis
Ed. e6ᵇ, ll. 20–24	... modo legendum sit || quod vt dixit pacientissimus Job. Mor || talis		

Ms.	autem	cum ceciderit
Ed.	autem homo cum ceciderit in infir || mitate sue mortis	

Ms.	non resurget	De consequentibus
Ed.	non resurget in eternū || De consequentibus habes	

Ms.	proba	Subiungit namqʒ statim. Si enim mortuus
Ed.	probacionem || subiungit namqʒ statim. si em̄ mortuus ||	

There are further extreme examples on [e]2ᵇ, [e]7ᵇ, and [e]8ᵇ; the smaller variations of the text occur on verso pages, with the exception of [b]3ᵃ and [b]8ᵃ. For the interpretation of the order of typesetting it is significant that nine occur in the second half of quires.[11] Copy-fitting of verso pages in the second half of the quire indicates the order in which half-sheets were completed. I see no other possible explanation for this occurrence than that the compositor completed his half-sheets immediately after he had set the conjugate pages in the first half of the quire. Thus, having completed the middle half-sheets in the quire (4/5 with pages 7–8–9–10), he would have to end page 10 as cast off, for the half-sheet with pages 5–6–11–12 would already have been completed. Similarly, page 12 would be fitted to end where page 13 had been calculated to begin. The order of typesetting in quire [a] would have been:

page 1 >2 >15 >16, followed by 3 >4 >13 >14, etc. Although on half-sheets, and therefore not to be qualified as 'setting by formes' this is a form of non-seriatim setting, and explains why the compositor preferred to conform to the casting off. His mainly formulaic additions to the text for copy-fitting show that he had more confidence in handling Latin words than in manipulating thick and thin spaces.

The comprehensive comparison of the two sources—the exemplar and the printed edition—serves to bring us much closer to the compositor's handling of the text, apart from his remarkable aptitude for improvisation. His ad-libbing is extreme, but other signs may be taken as confidence in command of the contents. He introduced corrections which were not marked up in the exemplar,

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11   On [a]5ᵇ, [a]6ᵇ, [a]8ᵇ, [c]5ᵇ, [d]6ᵇ, [d]8ᵇ, [e]6ᵇ, [e]7ᵇ, [e]8ᵇ.

where apparently shortcomings of the text were evident to him. Albinia de la Mare pointed out in her part of the study that he clearly did not approve of some of the spellings in the manuscript and was nearly consistent in spelling according to his own preferred rules. This shows that he was used to reading and copying Latin. A few errors crept in as he was setting the text. Some of these are simply literals, the consequence of picking up a type from the wrong box or a type wrongly distributed into the case. Then there are small errors, such as 'taque' for 'atque', 'nistrumentum' for 'instrumentum', 'appsitus' for 'appositus', etc. These are no reflection on the compositor's attention to the text, but merely show that proofreading and correcting the text once it was set in type were beyond him. Then there are some errors apparently caused by misreading, e.g. 'uniusquisꝗ' for 'uniuscuiusque' ([e]5ᵃ, l. 1), or leaving out a small word ('luci vitae' for 'luci ac vitae', [c]1ᵃ, l. 14). Contracted forms were sometimes misinterpreted. The compositor twice read 'speciale' or 'specialis' instead of 'spirituale' where the manuscript has 'spāle' or 'spālis' ([e]8ᵇ, l. 1, l. 4). He also had difficulties in reading previously corrected forms in the manuscript, as is shown by the relatively large number of conjectures in such places. The variant 'incorruptibilem' for 'incorporeum' ([a]4ᵇ, ll. 13–14) where the text deals with the substance of the Deity is in itself difficult to understand as a misreading, but equally hard to understand as an independent variant.

Far more significant is the compositor's conscious effort to improve the text of the manuscript in the course of typesetting. Some of the corrections of obvious miswritings were undoubtedly independent. In passing it cannot have been difficult for him to turn 'infilelium' in the manuscript into 'infidelium' ([e]5ᵃ, l. 21), 'aducet' into 'adducet' ([e]6ᵃ, l. 11), 'distinguntur' into 'distinguuntur' ([b]5ᵇ, l. 15). Corruption in the manuscript is less obvious when a miswriting produced a form in seemingly good Latin, but spoiled the sense. A good example is the obviously corrupt 'me sequendo' in the exemplar which became 'in sepeliendo' on [c]8ᵃ, l. 16; another example of this kind is 'opus sum' corrected to 'opus suum' ([b]5ᵇ, l. 7). In all, the compositor introduced about 20 successful emendations. When extensively collating contemporary sources Albinia de la Mare noted that some of the variants introduced into the printed text consistently agreed with readings in editions of the letters of St Jerome printed in Rome by Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, and later by Pannartz alone.[12] An example is on [d]2ᵃ, l. 23, where the exemplar has 'infide', the

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12   It is possible to specify with some likelihood which of the three editions printed in Rome
      was used (1468, 1470, and 1476, GW 12421, 12423, 12427, the first two printed by Sweynheym
      and Pannartz, the edition of 1476 by Pannartz alone). The two later editions (1470 and 1476)
      ascribe the text to Rufinus, which would be in conflict with the ascription of the text to

edition 'ꝭfine', and the Rome edition, likewise, 'in fine'; another example is on [e]3ᵃ, l. 25, where both Oxford and Rome have 'gē̄tibus' against the exemplar's 'gentilibus'. This led her to surmise that the compositor may have intermittently felt doubt as to the correctness of the exemplar, and would then have consulted a copy of the Rome edition, seeking its authority. As with his other corrections, he would have incorporated the readings derived from the Rome edition into his text without noting them in the manuscript, which he treated with great care. Having partly relied on the first Rome edition, which has the colophon date 'anno christi .M.CCCC. ʟxvɪɪɪ. Indictione prima. die uero .xiii. mensis decembris', may go some way toward explaining the famous error in the first Oxford colophon 'Impressa Oxonie Et finita Anno .M.cccc.lxviij .xvij. die decembris'. Such an error might be consistent with the mixture of careful consideration and failure to note or correct mistakes that marks the work of the man who made this book.

It remains difficult, however, to decide whether we can justifiably draw a distinction between the first Oxford compositor's ad-libbing, his obviously conjectural corrections, and corrections which coincide with an independent source of the text—which equally may have been conjectures which were contextually determined. Also, would someone who was as fluent in Latin as he obviously was require independent authority to insert at the end of a page the word 'scilicet', in 'vir scilicet ex || hac parte' ([b]3ᵇ, l. 25)? Leaving this undecided, we may nevertheless acknowledge his editorial input as he progressed with the work, and call him the 'compositor/editor'. In re-creating the text in this printed version and deeply engaging with it, he effected a textual transformation with a measure of freedom that is now difficult to appreciate but may have satisfied his patron.

Jerome, as in the Oxford edition and its exemplar. The Rome edition of 1468 did not ascribe the text to any author at all, and thus offered no conflicting statement of authorship. It is therefore more likely that a copy of this edition was used by the compositor. As it happens, a copy of this edition is known to have been in England at the time, for it was copied by the scribe Theodericus Werken for Christ Church, Canterbury; it is now Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 17. 4. Albinia de la Mare and Hellinga, 'The First Book Printed in Oxford' (see n. 1 above), Appendix I, p. 229, no. 18.

Two Editors, Three Printers:
M.T. Cicero, *Orationes* Printed in Venice, 1471–1480

The three editions of Cicero's orations that are the subject of this essay are:

(1) Edited by Ludovicus Carbo, Venice, Christophorus Valdarfer, 1471, 'praestante Mauro sub Duce Christophoro', i e. not after 9 November, the date of Cristoforo Moro's death. fol. GW 6765.

(2) Edited by Ludovicus Carbo, [Venice], Adam von Ambergau, 1472. fol. GW 6766.

(3) Revised by anonymous editor, Venice, Nicolaus Girardengus, 10 March 1480. fol. GW 6767.

Two notes in two much-respected sources, both fundamental to the study of incunabula, sent me on a long, unplanned detour. First I was seeking to verify two statements, in Konrad Haebler's *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde* and in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, respectively, and to answer the immediate questions they raised. But then I was drawn into the phenomenon of the revision and improvement of a famous and much-read text as it went through successive reprints. Once it had appeared in print, a copy of a first or early edition could be used for annotation, correction, and repairs, and for bringing the text to a new level of completeness as far as available sources permitted. Cicero's *Orationes*, the text I followed almost by chance some way on its journey through Venetian printing houses, turned out to be a good example of how a critical process that had been going on for more than a hundred years was continued when the texts appeared in print. That such a process continued and may even have been stimulated by the wider availability of a text in print is sometimes overlooked on the all-too-easy assumption that with printing, reproduction of a printed text would be virtually an exact copy, barring the occasional error—the term 'printer's copy' apparently misunderstood as signifying mechanical copying.

A classical text—or in this case a set of texts—has its own long and tortuous history of survival and rediscovery. It is reflected in the two editions of Cicero's orations which almost simultaneously appeared in print: they represent two distinct branches in the textual tradition of the *Orationes* as they had developed in the hands of humanist scholars from the middle of the fourteenth

century on. One was the set of Cicero's orations edited by Giovanni Andrea Bussi and published by Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome in 1471;[1] the other was the slightly smaller collection which announced itself as edited by Ludovicus Carbo and was published in Venice by Christophorus Valdarfer in the same year.[2] Both versions were reprinted several times. A third version, edited by Guarinus Veronensis and published c. 1475 in Bologna by the printer of Barbatia, was independent of the other two and was not reprinted.[3]

After its appearance in print, the first Venetian edition served as the basis for two subsequent editions. The copies of the first Venetian edition, which were successively annotated and adapted for use in two different printing houses, do not survive, but for the second book that resulted from such preparations, which was printed in Venice by Nicolaus Girardengus in 1480, it was possible to reconstruct to some extent the process of preparing a copy for reprinting while incorporating revisions. My point of departure was the process of production in Girardengus's printing house, but I ended with a foray into the textual tradition of Cicero's orations, guided primarily by the lucid studies of Silvia Rizzo.[4]

The first note (actually a footnote) that sent me on this trail was made by Konrad Haebler to support his evidence for printing by formes. In his *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde* he devoted a short chapter to the printing press.[5] In the beginning of this chapter he stated that the structure of presses had not undergone radical changes since the very beginning of printing, or at least the earliest known images of printing presses, for which he quotes the device of Badius Ascensius.[6] Haebler continued by distinguishing between the practices

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1 GW 6761, ISTC ic00541000.

2 GW 6765, ISTC ic00542000. The two branches in the tradition were distinguished by Silvia Rizzo, *La tradizione manoscritta della* Pro Cluentio *di Cicero* [Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di filologia classica e medievale, Università di Genova 57] (Genoa, 1979), where she indicated that the two earliest printed editions belonged to different branches (pp. 30, 47). See p. 236–237 below about the implications of Rizzo's analysis for the printed editions.

3 GW 6764, ISTC ic00541600. A digitised facsimile of the copy at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, is available online.

4 See n. 2 above, and Silvia Rizzo, *Catalogo dei codici della* Pro Cluentio *Ciceroniana* [Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di filologia classica e medievale, Università di Genova 75] (Genoa, 1983). The textual tradition of Cicero's orations in manuscript in the fifteenth century is treated in much greater detail in the contribution by R.H. Rouse and M.D. Reeve in L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 54–98.

5 Haebler, *Handbuch*. The chapter on the printing press, pp. 64–67.

6 Haebler states in his *Handbuch* that Badius's device was first used in 1499, but Badius's

of printing a page at a time—common, he writes, before 1470—and of printing two folio pages at a time imposed in a forme. Apparently he did not consider this innovation to be the consequence of a major development of the printing press. A somewhat longer chapter, entitled 'Formen',[7] begins with the resumption of the discussion of printing a page at a time. The earlier method, Haebler noted, would allow compositors to set type in textual order, but division of large sections of text between compositors might lead to the need to fit sections together by using more abbreviations or expanding the typesetting. He had observed such irregularities occurring mainly at printing houses in the German lands. Haebler thus summarised what in modern terminology is known as seriatim typesetting and printing.

He then proceeded with a clear explanation of the principle of setting by formes, working from the outer formes to the inner formes in a quire. He assumed that it began to be applied c. 1470, and he quoted a number of instances showing irregularities in the number of lines, which he interpreted as indicating copy-fitting when setting by formes. Several of these examples now seem too early to be explained as the result of printing by formes, which indeed has to be connected with the introduction and general spread of the two-pull press, which took about a decade to travel from Rome and Naples northwards before it became common in most printing houses.[8] The irregularities in some of his examples have to be ascribed to other events or mishaps in the printing houses during the production of these books.[9]

Irregularities in the number of lines per page in the middle sheet of a quire were considered by Haebler to be a clear indication that setting and printing had taken place by formes. Typesetting, he explains, would have taken place

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printing career did not start until 1503. A. Labarre, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du livre*, vol. I, p. 200, states that his device with the printing press was first used in 1507.

7 Haebler, *Handbuch*, pp. 72–79.

8 See pp. 25–31 above.

9 For example, the irregularities in Aristotle's *Ethica*, Sweynheym and Pannartz, Rome, 11 January 1473, noted in BMC IV, p. 17, are unlikely to be caused by printing by formes, as these printers are not known to have worked with two-pull presses (Haebler, *Handbuch*, p. 77, n. 1). Similarly, Vindelinus de Spira's *De natura deorum* of 1471 (BMC V, p. 158) was probably printed as a quarto on divided half-sheets (Haebler, *Handbuch*, p. 73). The imposition error in the *Repetitiones* printed by Vindelinus de Spira in 1472, in-folio (noted in BMC V, p. 161), where pages 1–2–3–4 were imposed as 1–2–15–16, may perhaps best be explained as an error caused by printing 'page by page and sheet by sheet', i.e. setting and printing two consecutive pages of a sheet, and then completing the other half of the sheet by printing the remaining two consecutive pages (Haebler, *Handbuch*, p. 73, n. 1).

from the outer forme—for example, leaves 1 and 8, 2 and 7, and so forth. This would have the advantage of bringing the type used for the outer sheet back into circulation for setting the inner sheets. Proceeding in this way would be based on casting off copy. Problems of copy-fitting would be mainly confined to the point where the compositors had reached the inner sheet. For the examples he quoted, Haebler relied heavily on the extensive bibliographical descriptions in BMC V, the volume 'Venice', which was published in 1924, a year before his *Handbuch*, and to a lesser extent on BMC IV, 'Rome', published in 1916. In both volumes, both compiled by Victor Scholderer, such irregularities were often noted. This, unfortunately, led Haebler to the erroneous conclusion that setting by formes was peculiar to Italian printing, and that the printers in the German lands normally worked seriatim, copy possibly divided between compositors.

Unlike Haebler, Victor Scholderer usually did not offer an interpretation of the irregularities which he included in his meticulous descriptions as and when he encountered them. He may not have agreed with all of Haebler's interpretations of his observations, but if so, he wisely and discreetly kept his counsel.

One of the cases quoted by Haebler is that of Cicero's *Orationes*, printed by Nicolaus Girardengus in Venice and dated 10 March 1480.[10] The following note added to the BMC's description of Girardengus's edition had caught Haebler's eye: 'Quire i and other quires contain a number of short pages on the inner sheets. The verso of o4 ends with the syllable 'com' and the text resumes with the complete word 'comemorandū' on the next leaf, a leaf being cut away between.[11] On o3ᵃ–o5ᵇ the type page is only 118 mm broad.'[12] In my introductory essay to the present collection, 'The Text in the Printing House',[13] I observed that printer's copy (manuscript or printed book) can help reveal the order of typesetting, or, where there are other indications, can confirm it. I became interested in the example of the 1480 edition of Cicero's *Orationes* quoted by Haebler, because GW 6767 (followed by BSB-Ink C-382, CIBN C-430,

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10   GW 6767, ISTC ic00545000, BMC V, p. 272, IB. 20776, quoted by Haebler, *Handbuch*, p. 77, n. 1.

11   The blank leaf is in fact still present in the BL copy, as it is in the copies in the BnF, CIBN C-430, and Munich BSB, BSB-Ink C-382 (online facs. frames 245–246).

12   The standard width of the type area in this book is 129 mm. Scholderer's note needs some correction: the width of the type area was adjusted on pages o3ᵃ⁻ᵇ, 4ᵃ⁻ᵇ, and 6ᵃ⁻ᵇ, leaf o5 being blank.

13   See pp. 52–56 above.

and—at the time of writing—by ɪsᴛᴄ ic00545000) states that its exemplar was the first edition of the *Orationes* edited by Ludovicus Carbo, printed by Christophorus Valdarfer in Venice in 1471; Girardengus's edition is the third of this version. By implication, the *Gesamtkatalog* note served to point out that Girardengus did not work from the second edition, printed in 1472 by Adam Ambergau.[14] The presence of all three editions in the British Library offers the opportunity to verify what their relationship is.[15] It turns out that they are indeed closely connected, although in a more complicated, and also more interesting, way than the statements by the *Gesamtkatalog* and its followers indicate.

All three books are in-folio, printed on Chancery paper in roman type of similar size, with long lines. Such likenesses can be misleading, but here the similarity of the founts of type clearly shows how it was possible for sections to be reprinted line-for-line, or page-for-page in the two later editions. Valdarfer's edition is the basis for both. Their main difference in general layout is that in Valdarfer's edition titles of the orations had to be filled in by hand, whereas in the two others almost all of them are printed. Valdarfer's book counts 275 leaves, printed with his Type 1: 110R; Ambergau's reprint, for which he used a fount with a larger body (his Type 2: 116R), counts 297 leaves; Girardengus, printing with the recasting of his Type 1: 115R, which now measured 112 mm, produced the book in 286 leaves.[16] Valdarfer's book ends with a fine poem in couplets, signed by the poet and editor with fulsome praise for the German printer who performed the miracle of printing:

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14   ɢᴡ 6766; ɪsᴛᴄ ic00543000; ʙᴍᴄ V, p. 189.

15   The copy of Valdarfer's edition is ʙᴍᴄ V, p. 183, 167. h. 4; three copies of Ambergau's edition are described in ʙᴍᴄ V, p. 189, G. 9357, ɪʙ. 19812, 169. k. 14. The copy of Girardengus's edition, the focus of the present study, is ʙᴍᴄ V, p. 272, ɪʙ. 20776. The unusual end of its sequence of quire signatures was to confuse some later binders. In the ʙʟ copy quires aa and x have swapped places, producing the sequence && x y z aa &, instead of the correct && aa x y z &, breaking up *De provinciis*, *Pro Sestio*, and *Pro Caecina*. Correct contemporary numbering of the orations in red ink in the upper right-hand corner of each recto suggests that the orations were originally bound in the proper sequence. Its present binding in half-boards may be of the eighteenth century. In the BnF copy the sequence is also misbound, but the copy ʙsʙ-Ink ᴄ-381 is bound correctly. The facsimiles of copies at the ʙsʙ of Ambergau's (ʙsʙ-Ink ᴄ-382) and Girardengus's editions are available online, most conveniently accessed via the ɪsᴛᴄ.

16   Leaf o5 is blank.

> Germani ingenii quis non miretur acumen?
> Quod uult germanus protinus efficiet:
> > quam mira libros impresserit arte:
> Quam subito ueterum tot monumenta dedit
> > Nomine Cristophorus: Valdarfer gentis alumnus:
> Ratisponensis gloria magna soli:
> > Nunc ingens Ciceronis opus: causasզ forenses
> Quas inter patres dixit & in populo.
> > Cernis quam recto: quam emendato ordine struxit
> Nulla figura oculis gratior esse potest: ....

It ends with the date 'M.CCCC.LXXI: LODO. CARBO.'. 'Lodo. Carbo' can be identified as the humanist scholar and poet Ludovico Carbone (1430–1485), who was the author of several orations and the editor, apart from Cicero's *Orationes*, of the *Epistolae* of Pliny the Younger, printed by Valdarfer in the same year.[17]

Ambergau's colophon consists of only four lines, the first two an adaptation of Valdarfer's lines, possibly again by Carbo, who in that case might have improved his first edition by paying more attention to punctuation and capitalisation. His name is omitted this time. The end of Ambergau's book runs:

> Hoc ingens Ciceronis opus: causasque forenses
> Quas inter patres dixit & in populo
> Tu quicunque leges. Ambergau natus ahenis
> Impressit formis. Ecce magister Adam.
> M.CCCC.LXXII.

In 1480 Nicolaus Girardengus signed off simply with 'Nicolaus G.' and 'Diligenter emendatae'—words which turn out to be a concise statement. He omitted the name of Ludovicus Carbo.

It may be helpful to state at this point that Haebler was correct in considering Girardengus's edition as an example of printing by formes. This fits into a larger pattern: a survey of quarto editions has shown that from c. 1477 (some two years before Girardengus started printing in Venice), several Venetian printers had

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17   ISTC ip00804000, GW M34367, BMC V, pp. 183–184. In his dedication of the Pliny to Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, Carbone writes, after lavishly praising the art of printing: 'Epistolas ... emendatas correctasque impressoribus misi'—so that they will become commonly available. For full text see below n. 31.

begun to work with two-pull presses: the printing houses of Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, Bernhard Maler, Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein, Thomas de Blavis, Adam de Rottweil, and Nicolas Jenson.[18] In 1480 Girardengus himself printed his edition in quarto of Francesco d'Assisi, *Fioretti*,[19] on full sheets. When in 1479 he set up his printing house in Venice, planning to produce a sequence of sizable works, he probably equipped it with two-pull presses. What is at issue, however, is whether the irregularities noted in BMC which led Haebler to include this edition among his examples, are indeed evidence for this procedure, or whether there are other causes.

The irregularity in the number of lines in quire i of Girardengus's edition (from here on 'G') that was noted in BMC V occurs in the two middle sheets of quire i⁸, the text of which is part of Cicero's oration *Pro Cluentio*. In G this long oration runs from fol. g7ᵃ, l. 7, to k8ᵃ; in Valdarfer's edition (from here on 'V'), from [g]7ᵃ, l. 7, to [i]8ᵃ, l. 24. In G the first 22 pages of the oration (including, with one exception, the whole of quire h⁸) appear to be a smooth reprint from V, working page-for-page but not line-for-line, which is how large sections of Ambergau's edition, including *Pro Cluentio*, were reprinted from V.[20] Where V regularly had 40 lines per page, G managed to accommodate the same quantity of text in 38 or 39 lines by using more contractions and abbreviations. Even a cursory comparison shows that G much improved the punctuation, which makes the text easier to read and brings the reader significantly closer to appreciating the rhetorical quality of the text. Many more capitals were used, especially in proper names (which helped a great deal in navigating this long text). G also consistently corrects forms of some names—for example, 'Abitus', as the cognomen of Cluentius is spelled in V, becomes 'Habitus' in G.[21] The one major textual variant between V and G found before quire i⁸ occurs at the end of G's page h5ᵇ, where its editor eliminates a marginal gloss that had crept into V's version:

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18   See the survey in the essay 'Press and Text in the First Decades of Printing', pp. 33–34 where Nicolas Jenson's first quarto edition in full sheets is recorded in 1479 (cf. the note in BMC V, p. 180, *Marchesinus super Bibliam*, IA.19729). In his edition of Antoninus, *Summae theologicae tertia pars*, with the date 1477, BMC V, p. 177 noted varying length and width of pages which are best understood as copy-fitting when working with full sheets on a two-pull press. Noted by Haebler, *Handbuch*, p. 77.

19   GW 10302, ISTC if00284400.

20   Line-for-line but not page-for-page.

21   In Ambergau's edition the spelling 'Habitus' is also almost consistently adopted, but otherwise I have not noted substantive deviation from V.

V: h3ᵇ, ll. 39/40: Accusatus est criminibus grauissimis <u>& usꝗ a me bene breuiter</u>
<u>ut cū ōnia pene dixere: multa || (h4ᵃ) adhuc sibi reseruasse uideatur.</u> breuiter
dicta sunt ...

G: h5ᵇ, l. 39: Accusatus est criminibus grauissis iis (*sic*) quae (h6ᵃ) breuiter dicta
sunt ...[22]

These observations alone justify, at least for this oration, the claim at the end of
G that the orations were 'diligenter emendatae'. But quire i, following the very
regular reprinting of V in quire h, reveals that here the corrector went much
further. From fol. i2ᵃ on, the page-ends deviate from those in V, and from i2ᵇ,
l. 39, there occurs a major textual deviation, the first of four interpolations in G
compared to the text in V. G apparently supplied four sections of text missing
in V, the first three 63 lines long, the fourth slightly shorter.[23] For example, the
last interpolation runs, with the passage missing in V underlined:

V: [i]5ᵇ, ll. 31–33: '... emit deīde || a rupilio quo erat usus Oppiaīcus medico & a
stracone moꝗ sentētia || cōstitutum esset: satis quaesitum uideri eadem de
re triennio.'

G: k5ᵃ, ll. 5–7: '... emit deinde a Rupilio || quo erat usus Oppianicus medico
Stratonē <u>quēdā: ꝗsi ut idē faceret: qď || Habitus in emēdo Diogene fecerat.</u>
...' (63 lines later) k5ᵇ, ll. 29–30: '... <u>cū de. T. Annii. L. Rutilii. P. Saturii &</u>
<u>caeterorum ||</u> honestissimoꝗ uiroꝗ sententia constitutū esset: satis quesitū
uideri: ea || dem de re triennio ...'.

The lacunae in V and interpolations in G occur as follows:[24]

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22   Underlined are the words omitted in G, presumably a correction based on a different
      source. Martin Davies pointed out to me that the line has been recognised as a gloss by
      Johann Classen in his edition of 1831. The apparent reading of the last word on the page
      'grauissis iis', both in the copy in the BL and BSB, must be due to a defective repair of the
      word 'grauissimis'.

23   Ambergau's edition, working mainly line-for-line for *Pro Cluentio*, has the same lacunae.

24   In the text edition by A.C. Clark, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes*, vol. I (Oxford, 1905, repr.
      1984), the four interpolations in G are as follows:
      1. p. 328, § 102, l. 1–p. 334, § 107, l. 14.
      2. p. 356, § 127, l. 2–p. 362, § 132, l. 12
      3. p. 384, § 149, l. 2–p. 390, § 154, l. 14
      4. p. 412, § 176, l. 3–p. 418, § 182, l. 9

TABLE 1

	Lacunae in V	Interpolation in G	Same text in V and G	Number of lines
1	[h]8^b, l. 39	i2^b, l. 39–i3^b, l. 28		63
			i3^b, l. 28–i6^b, l. 8 (G)	190
2	[i]1^a, l. 17	i6^b, l. 9–i7^a, l. 37		63
			i7^a, l. 37–k1^b, l. 23	181
3	[i]3^b, l. 2	k1^b, l. 23–k2^b, l. 10		63
			k2^b, l. 11–k5^a, l. 6	187
4	[i]5^b, l. 31	k5^a, l. 6–k5^b, l. 30		61½

The regularity of the four lacunae in *Pro Cluentio* in V might lead an incunabulist to suspect that leaves had gone astray in the printer's copy handed over to Valdarfer by Ludovico Carbone. It is not so. Instead, this mishap must have occurred centuries earlier, as Silvia Rizzo's study of the textual tradition of *Pro Cluentio* makes clear. It turns out that the lacunae, precisely matching those in Valdarfer's edition, existed already in the second half of the eleventh century when Cicero's oration was copied by a scribe in Monte Cassino. The codex he produced contains three classical Latin texts, the second being *Pro Cluentio*. It is now in Florence in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Plut. 51.10) and includes the scribe's notes to the first text, Varro's *De lingua latina*, in which he indicates the deficiencies in his exemplar, e.g. 'hic desunt tria folia in exemplari'. Unfortunately, he did not make similar notes in 'Pro Cluentio', but the equal size of the first four lacunae indicates that by the time the codex was written at Monte Cassino, leaves of a codex had gone missing, either in its exemplar or perhaps at an earlier point in the transmission of the text. Silvia Rizzo, who calculated the structure of the missing leaves, surmised that the middle bifolia of quires in the exemplar were lost, unless it had happened earlier.[25] She describes how the manuscript became the primary source of *Pro Cluentio* for humanist scholars from the middle of the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth. Boccaccio took it c. 1355 from Monte Cassino, copied two texts, including 'Pro Cluentio', himself, and sent this copy to Petrarch. In his turn, Petrarch not only copied the text, but also produced many conjectures and emendations. Other scholars (Salutati in 1379, the lawyer Giovanni Lodovico

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25   Rizzo, *La tradizione* (see n. 2 above), pp. 23–25, correcting the calculation by A.C. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 284–291.

Lambertazzi in 1394) made copies of the version created by Petrarch, and this version spread rapidly in France and northern Italy. Rizzo observes that the 'family' of manuscripts that thus came into existence, and which she called 'la famiglia petrarchesca', emanated in Italy from Padua. It thus seems to be no coincidence that the first Venetian edition belongs to this branch of the textual tradition. The three extant fifteenth-century manuscripts which belong to this group, and the first two editions printed in Venice, all retained its chief characteristic, the substantial textual lacunae which were already present in the exemplar used by the scribe in Monte Cassino. In the manuscripts there are, according to Rizzo, invariably five lacunae, the final one the end of the text as we know it. In Ludovico Carbone's version printed by Valdarfer and Ambergau, the end of the text was supplemented,[26] but the four earlier lacunae are all there, the text continuing seamlessly without any sign of a gap. Rizzo therefore identified Carbone's version as belonging to the *famiglia petrarchesca*.[27]

In parallel to this family another branch developed, also derived from the Monte Cassino manuscript which had gone with Boccaccio to Florence and was probably later owned by Niccolò Niccoli, and later still by the convent of S. Marco in Florence. As Florentine humanists busily worked on it, another branch of the textual tradition grew, supported for parts of *Pro Cluentio* by the now lost codex '*vetus Cluniacensis*', which Poggio Bracciolini had brought to light in 1415, and in which the text of *Pro Cluentio* was less defective compared with the version copied at Monte Cassino. No fewer than eight manuscripts are still extant of this version, which Rizzo named the '*famiglia fiorentina*'. As a result of contamination, textual gaps were filled where there had been lacunae, and the two families began to diverge considerably. The Sweynheym and Pannartz edition of 1471, edited by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, is a representative of a subset of the Florentine family.[28]

Girardengus's edition of 1480 is a further development of the process of contamination of sources, in so far as this can be judged from *Pro Cluentio* alone. Numerous small variants indicate that the supplementation of the text of the lacunae broadly agrees with the Rome edition but must have been provided

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26   The end of the oration, the most obvious of the lacunae, had been supplied from the *Cluniacensis*, probably as early as 1416 by a Florentine scribe. See Rouse and Reeve (see n. 4 above), p. 89.

27   In the version edited by Guarinus Veronensis and printed in Bologna c. 1475 (see n. 3 above), the end of the oration is supplied, but it features the four lacunae.

28   Rizzo, *La tradizione*, p. 47.

by another manuscript source belonging to the *famiglia fiorentina*. Clearly, its intention was to present *Pro Cluentio* in a state of completeness that adequately represented the sources known to be available at the time.

The editor of Girardengus's edition, who remains unnamed but who presumably was not Ludovico Carbone, presented the printer with sections of text which had to be fitted into the copy of the first edition enriched with his corrections. The printer was therefore faced with a difficult task. The irregular length of pages noted in BMC may show that he did not succeed in estimating precisely the effect of fitting the interpolations into the text he was reprinting.

The length of the pages as set out in Table 2 shows that in quire i^8 the eight pages of the two middle sheets are indeed 4 lines shorter than the pages of the two outer sheets. Does this prove that the sequence of typesetting was by formes? It is certainly one explanation for the phenomenon, but where the printer faced the difficult task of twice inserting a substantial section of text within the quire, it need not be the only possible explanation. In quire k^8, where he also fitted in two interpolations of the same or a similar number of lines, he coped much better. The end of the oration was on page $k8^a$.

TABLE 2   *Text of Pro Cluentio ends on $k8^a$. Pages with inserted text are marked with +*

Quire i^8						Quire k^8					
Page		Lines	Lines		Page	Page		Lines	Lines		Page
1^a	1	39	39	16	8^b	1^a	1	38		16	8^b
1^b	2	39	39	15	8^a	1^b	2+	38	38	15	8^a
2^a	3	39	39	14	7^b	2^a	3+	38	38	14	7^b
2^b	4	39	39	13+	7^a	2^b	4+	38	38	13	7^a
3^a	5+	35	35	12+	6^b	3^a	5	38	38	12	6^b
3^b	6+	35	35	11	6^a	3^b	6	38	38	11	6^a
4^a	7	35	35	10	5^b	4^a	7	38	38	10+	5^b
4^b	8	35	35	9	5^a	4^b	8	39	38	9+	5^a

The other irregularity noted in the BMC shows the printer facing different problems. It also offers a different perspective on the editing and production process. It occurs in the oration *Cum Senatui gratias egit*, which runs in G from $o1^b$, l. 8, to $o8^a$, l. 20. In quire o^8, leaf $o5$ is blank (interrupting the text), and $o4^b$ ends with the syllable 'com', the first part of the word 'cōmemorandū', which appears in its entirety as the first word on the page after the blank, $o6^a$. In V, its exemplar, the line runs ([m]9^a, l. 2): 'etiā ad cōmemorandū gratiā

mihi relictū putarē.' In G, o6ᵃ, l. 1, ends the line as in the exemplar, but with fewer contracted forms: 'cōmemorandū gratiam mihi relictum putarem'. It is therefore not difficult to visualise that the marked-up copy of V that had been used by the compositor of G had a casting-off mark between l. 1, ending with 'ad referēdum ueⱥ' and the following line, to mark where in G a new page (o6ᵃ, or page 11 in the quire) should begin. The syllable 'com' on o4ᵇ (or page 8 in the quire) is the kind of dittography which is a fairly common mistake at the transition of pages.[29]

Quire o⁸ begins with the final part of the previous oration, *Cum populo gratias egit*, which ends on o1ᵇ, l. 7. The oration *Pridie quam in exilium iret*, which follows the oration to the Senate, begins on o8ᵃ, l. 21. The first outer forme of quire o therefore has text of the 14th and the 16th orations in this collection, the first inner forme the printed titles and beginnings of the 15th and the 16th orations. The 15th oration, *Cum Senatui gratias egit*, occupies in G 10 full pages and two parts of pages (not counting the two blank pages). In V the oration is a bit shorter, running from [m]6ᵃ, l. 7, to [m]10ᵇ, l. 27, or nine pages. Expressed in the total number of lines, in V the text occupies 378 lines, and in G 422 lines, a difference of 44 lines. This cannot only be accounted for by fewer contractions or the shortening of the width of lines by 11 mm, as occurs on the six pages o3ᵃ–o6ᵇ.

There are, in fact, several textual expansions in G, not, as in *Pro Cluentio*, in a regular pattern that indicates the correction of a material defect in the copy-text, the loss of leaves, albeit centuries earlier. The expansions in G's version of *Cum Senatui gratias egit* are rather the result of the work of an editor who had collated the text as presented in V against another source or sources. Most of the insertions I noted in G compared with V are short—a few words on

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29   I have noted three similar instances of dittography in G: On the transition from quires l to m in G, the words 'non potuisse bōa possideř' at the end of quire l are also found on m1ᵃ, l. 1, without contractions. On the transition of aa4ᵇ to aa5ᵃ the words 'qui me consulē cū …' are repeated. The duplication of the final line on f4ᵃ, repeated as the first line on f4ᵇ: 'uendunt: quā. P. Africanus nudatā tectis: ac moenibⱬ siue ad notandam' ‖ is an error, f4ᵃ, l. 37, replacing a line of text in the passage '… post autem agros in Hispania apud Carthaginem novam duorum Scipionum eximia virtute possessos; tum ipsam veterem Carthaginem vendunt, quam P. Africanus nudatam tectis ac moenibus sive ad notandam Carthaginiensium calamitatem … consecravit.' The corrected form appears in the copy in the BSB, where the final line of f4ᵃ correctly reads: 'nouam duorum Scipionū eximia uirtute possessos. tum ipsam ueterem' ‖. The word 'Carthaginem' to follow 'veterem' is missing in both copies. My thanks to Karina de la Garza Gil for spotting this press variant.

02ᵇ, l. 34, 03ᵇ, l. 5, 06ᵇ, ll. 24–25—but others are several lines long (07ᵃ, ll. 31–35, 07ᵇ, ll. 32–36). The longest insertion adds 16 lines (06ᵃ, l. 35–06ᵇ, l. 14), a lacuna in V which begins at [m]9ᵇ, at the end of l. 2.[30]

For example, on 02ᵇ, l. 34, G inserts four words (underlined):

> neꝗ uim praetoris: nec multitudinē <u>creditoru̧: || nec bonou̧ ꝓscriptionē</u> effugere potuisset.

In addition, V [m]7ᵃ, l. 39, reads here 'cum' for G's 'uim'. Another example has a similar variant reading, indicating that for these emendations G's editor relied on an independent source, whereas for most of the text the version in V is faithfully followed:

V: [m]8ᵇ, l. 10: dignitate tutores custodesꝗ audistis …
G: 06ᵇ, ll. 23–24: dignitate || tot rogatores: diriuatores custodesque uidistis …

Leaves [m]6–10 of V, which the editor handed over to the printer to serve as exemplar for this oration, were presumably heavily annotated. With many substantive textual changes in the printer's copy, the text could not possibly be reproduced with the comfortable method of page-by-page resetting. Insertions and corrections must have confused the copy preparation of counting and marking-up by a foreman or the Master Printer, and the space required for the revised text was overestimated.

The dittography at the end of 04ᵇ is in itself a slight indication that setting may have taken place by formes: page 6ᵇ (page 12, in the third outer forme) may have been printed before 4ᵇ (page 8, in the fourth inner forme), or else it may have been a misreading of a casting-off marking. A further and stronger indication is the reduction of the type area in the formes of the third and fourth sheets (see Table 3).

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30   In the text edition by W. Peterson, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes*, vol. v (Oxford, 1923, repr. 1978) the lacunae as repaired in G are: 02ᵇ, l. 34—Peterson (5), 11, ll. 26–27; 03ᵇ, l. 5—Peterson (6), 14, l. 21; 06ᵃ, l. 35–06ᵇ, l. 14—Peterson (10), 26, l. 4—Peterson (11), 27, l. 22; 06ᵇ, ll. 24–25—Peterson (11), 28, l. 3; 07ᵃ, ll. 31–35—Peterson (13), 33, ll. 5–10; 07ᵇ, ll. 32–36—Peterson (15), 37, ll. 28–23.

TABLE 3   *The number of lines per page and the width of the pages show how the compositor manipulated superfluous space in quire o*

	Page	Lines	Width	Width	Lines	Page	
			Quire o⁸				
	Page	Lines	Width	Width	Lines	Page	
1ᵃ	1	38	129 mm	129 mm	38	16	8ᵇ
1ᵇ	2	text begins	129 mm	129 mm	text ends	15	8ᵃ
2ᵃ	3	38	129 mm	129 mm	38	14	7ᵇ
2ᵇ	4	37	129 mm	129 mm	37	13	7ᵃ
3ᵃ	5	37	118 mm	118 mm	37	12	6ᵇ
3ᵇ	6	37	118 mm	118 mm	37	11	6ᵃ
4ᵃ	7	37	118 mm	blank	blank	10	5ᵇ
4ᵇ	8	37	118 mm	blank	blank	9	5ᵃ

By shortening the page the compositor reduced the size the text was to occupy, apparently for copy-fitting, in a sequence which can be explained if his method was printing by formes. Assuming he did so, we can see that he must have realised that there was a problem when he reached o2ᵇ–o7ᵃ, pages 4 and 13, the second inner forme, for it was there that he switched from setting 38 to 37 lines per page. This he continued for both outer and inner formes of the third sheet (o3ᵃ⁻ᵇ, o6ᵃ⁻ᵇ, i.e. pages 5–6, and 11–12) and two pages of the fourth sheet (o4ᵃ⁻ᵇ, pages 7 and 8); for these six pages he took a further step, shortening the lines from 129 to 118 mm. Thus the superfluous space was confined to two pages which he left blank, and which he did not arrange as 8 and 9 (a forme), but as 9 and 10, forming a leaf which was meant to be cut out (as in the copy in the BnF, but it remained *in situ* in several copies, including those in the BL and in the BSB). Thus the error in calculation was made as inconspicuous as possible. There may of course have been some trial and error in the proof stage before this result was achieved.

Engaging more closely with the text as transmitted in successive editions of Cicero's *Orationes* opened up new questions about editorial processes and the printers' responses to them. In a dedicatory letter to his edition of the *Epistolae* of Pliny the Younger, published by Valdarfer in the same year as Cicero's *Orationes*, Ludovico Carbone, who edited both texts, wrote that having emended and corrected Pliny's text, he had sent it to the printers, in order to turn what used to be extremely rare into a work that would be available to all.[31]

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31   Ludovicus Carbo to Duke Borsa d'Este: '… In primisque has Plinii Secundi iunioris Epis-

As set out above, the Cicero text produced in Valdarfer's printing house became the basis for editors and printers who used it as a vehicle for further improvement, emendation, and correction in subsequent editions. Ambergau's edition of 1472 was only a modest revision of Carbone's version, especially in introducing more punctuation, but otherwise it followed Valdarfer's edition closely. It may well have been produced in recognition that the state of the art required some further effort. The anonymous scholar who presented Girardengus with an annotated copy of Valdarfer's edition had done a much more thorough job on at least some of the orations.

We can only speculate as to what was behind the scholarly corrector's selection of orations to be revised. Were they perhaps the orations for which an independent manuscript source, or even sources, were available for collation with the printed text? Or was it just a pronounced preference for particular orations—or lack of interest in others? The Sweynheym and Pannartz edition, reprinted c. 1478 in Milan by Antonius Zarotus,[32] includes in a different order all the orations present in Valdarfer's edition, and in addition *Pro Fonteio*, *Pro Q. Roscio comoedo*, the Verrines, and the Philippics.[33] Bussi's version includes the sections of *Pro Cluentio* which are missing from Valdarfer's and Ambergau's editions. One of these editions might have been conveniently to hand for the corrector working with Valdarfer's edition, but a few probes show small but consistent textual variants from the interpolations in Girardengus's edition, especially in verbal forms, which make direct derivation unlikely.[34]

In G's version of *Pro Cluentio* there was very little editorial interference apart from 'accidentals'—punctuation and capitalisation—until in the second half of the oration a way was found to repair the lacunae in Valdarfer's edition. This enabled the printer to reproduce the first 22 pages of text page-by-page, which required minimal effort in preparing copy. In *Cum Senatui gratias egit*, which has substantive editorial interference throughout the text, it was impossible for the printer to use the pages of the exemplar for defining the pages of the new edition. For the casting off he had to estimate the length of the editor's textual additions. Where the editor/corrector added text in large chunks or as

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tolas cognitione profecto dignissimas & lectione frequenti: opera mea emendatas correctasque impressoribus misi: ut quod rarissimum esse solebat: iam commune omnibus fieri incipiat:'. (Contractions expanded). Plinius Secundus, *Epistolae* [Venice, Chr. Valdarfer], 1471, ISTC ip00804000, GW M34367, leaf [a]2ᵃ, ll. 19–23.

32   GW 6762, ISTC ic00544000.

33   As noted by GW 6761.

34   In a Latin text, and certainly one in classical Latin, there is little likelihood that such changes were introduced by a compositor acting on his own.

many shorter phrases, the only method open to him for casting off the future pages was by counting lines and estimating the length of the passages added (scribbled?) by the corrector. The difficulty of this task has left permanent traces in the book.

More often, however, the estimates were correct, for the orations which were not set as page-for-page reprints look as regular as those where the page structure of the exemplar was followed closely. The two irregularities and their different causes, discussed above, alert us, however, to the fact that the sections of text where G does not follow V page-for-page may be taken to indicate that extensive editing had affected the length of the text. Or conversely, where typesetting was page-for-page, such extensive editing had *not* taken place. Where editing was confined to capitalisation and punctuation, and the occasional change of spelling, perhaps changing a word or two, the typesetting could stay with the page structure of the exemplar. Therefore, would surveying the contents of G, and distinguishing the orations which relate page-for-page to the exemplar from those with an independent page structure, bring us closer to the extent of the corrector's editorial interventions? Collating the whole text would far exceed the scope of the present study, which intends to focus on the printing house's responses to a corrector's work. But surveying the book as a whole and then deducing how a Master Printer had divided and marked up the document that had arrived in the printing house, might bring us closer to the nature of the document and even to details of the scope of editorial intervention. In a composite text, for which multiple manuscript and some printed sources were known to exist, variation in editorial attention is to be expected. Some orations were likely to have been scrutinised more critically than others.

A list of the contents of Valdarfer's and Girardengus's editions is given in Appendix 1. It shows that 15 of the orations in Girardengus's edition follow its exemplar page-for-page. We may therefore infer that they were reprinted without editing that affected the length of the text, although this does not preclude minor textual changes. They are (in order of appearance): *Pro Milone*, *Pro Plancio*, *Pro Sulla*, *Pro rege Deiotaro*, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, *Pro Murena*, *De haruspicum responso*, *De provinciis consularibus*, *De lege agraria* (II), *Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo*, *Pro Caecina*, *Pro C. Rabirio Postumo*, *Invectiva Sallustii*, *Contra Sallustium*, *Catilina* II, and, as was discussed above, the first part of *Pro Cluentio*. Even this first result leads to a preliminary conclusion: at least two orations were extensively expanded as a result of editing; for others, the size and layout of the exemplar were reproduced in the same form, and from this we may deduce that editing, if it had taken place at all, had not affected the length of the text. A pattern comes to mind which is familiar to those

acquainted with early printing in England: that of the successive printed edi-
tions of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, another composite text with multiple (if
less complex) sources. There can hardly be an example of an early literary
text in print that is more extensively explored than the successive editions
of the *Canterbury Tales*. It all began with Caxton himself explaining in the
prologue of his second edition that he was dissatisfied with the manuscript
source of his first edition, printed some seven years earlier, and that he used
another manuscript as a source recommended to him for amending the text.
But despite his dissatisfaction, he used the first edition as the basis for his cor-
rections, and as such it was the exemplar for the second edition. The second
(amended) edition was the exemplar for the third (printed in 1492 by Richard
Pynson without substantive changes) as well as for sections of the fourth, pub-
lished in 1498, some parts of which were drastically amended by its printer
Wynkyn de Worde, or more probably by an anonymous editor, on the basis of
yet another independent manuscript source, or even multiple sources. In most
of the past decades of textual investigations (which are still going on), scholars
have minutely traced Caxton's interventions and those of the later editors on
the basis of collation with other manuscript sources.[35] Out of the 24 distinct
Tales, Caxton made for his second edition textual corrections in 14 (of which
two had very slight corrections), whereas eight Tales in verse and two in prose
were less affected. The process then continued with De Worde's edition, where
for the first half an annotated copy of Caxton's second edition was the printer's
exemplar.

The successive editions of *The Canterbury Tales* show a patchwork of editing:
some tales were (and still are) more popular than others, and were from the
earliest times more likely to attract an editor's attention. This also applies to
Cicero's orations, but that is as far as the analogy goes, for there is—as far as I
know—no comprehensive study of the textual transmission of the orations in
early printed editions. Classical scholars seem to draw the line at transmission
in manuscript. I, in my turn, feel compelled to draw the line at the printing
house, once the documents destined to serve as printer's copy are inside. I hope
that one day a student of the classical tradition in the fifteenth century will

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35   For recent scholarship on the *Canterbury Tales* see, for example, Stephen Partridge,
'Wynkyn de Worde's Manuscript Sources for the *Canterbury Tales*: Evidence from the
Glosses', *Chaucer Review*, 41 (2007), pp. 325–359 (325–327). Satoko Tokunaga, 'A Textual
Analysis of the Overlooked Tales in de Worde's *Canterbury Tales*', in Jacob Thaisen and
Hanna Rutkowska (eds.), *Scribes, Printers and the Accidentals of Their Texts* (Frankfurt a.
M., 2011), pp. 157–176.

bridge the divide and identify how the manuscript tradition is reflected in the early printed editions of Cicero's orations. I also hope that the present study may be of some use to such a scholar.

Returning to the survey in Appendix I, we may take note that in 16 orations the page structure deviates from that of the exemplar, in nos. 1, 5–9, the second half of 11, 12–19, and 25, as listed in the survey. Before we infer that this indicates that significant editing had taken place, the survey also shows where page-for-page resetting was affected by factors other than editorial intervention. Initially, G followed the exemplar in accentuating the individual orations by letting each begin at the head of a page: *Pro Cn. Pompeio*, *Pro Milone*, *Pro Plancio*, *Pro Sulla*, *Pro Archia*. But then a more economical layout was preferred. Unlike the exemplar, the sixth oration in G, *De lege agraria* (III), follows the end of *Pro Archia* on the same page (e9ᵃ, l. 25), and from there on, until g4ᵇ, G parts company with the exemplar's page structure and copy had to be counted off, regardless of whether there had been textual additions to be included or not. Page-for-page setting could be resumed from g4ᵇ to i2ᵃ, because by then the exemplar had also started avoiding having blank space between orations. The interpolations in *Pro Cluentio* made a departure from the exemplar's page structure inevitable from i2ᵇ and in quire k. From there on until r6ᵇ, the end of the first half of the exemplar, casting off was counted out. We have seen that included in this section is *Cum Senatui gratias egit* (in quire o), which showed considerable editorial intervention. Only comprehensive collation can decide whether in the five other orations in the section k8–r6 there is substantial textual editing, affecting the length of the texts.

Page structure, noted in the survey of contents, is not the only structure indicating the procedures of the printing house. The survey shows that there is some parallel between the quire structure of V and G. A second survey (see Appendix II) shows G's quire structure in relation to that of V, and leads to a further conclusion. In 14 of the 33 quires of G, their ends coincide with the ends of quires in V. The ends of 10 other quires in G coincide with line ends in V. There are therefore only nine quires without such coincidence; at the end of quire e the printer decided for the first time not to leave half a page blank at the end of an oration, and deviated from the exemplar; three quires (i, k, o) include the two orations, *Pro Cluentio* and *Cum Senatui gratias egit*, which have been shown to have major textual interpolations; quire C is the final quire, and there was therefore no need to indicate the beginning of the following quire. That reduces to four the number of quires where we have not deduced the reason why they did not keep to casting off (m, q, r, ſ), or rather, it reduces to four or six the number of orations which may have significant textual changes: *Pro Flacco*, *De domo sua*, *In Vatinium testem*, *Pro Caelio*, and possibly *Catilina* II, IV. If I were

a scholar of the classical tradition intent on tracing the textual development of Cicero's orations in print, they would be the first I would investigate.

For now, however, this observation leads to a more detailed look at the printer's copy, reconstructing how the compositors who set the text of G were guided by its marking up. We may follow the Master Printer step by step from the time he received from the corrector/editor a document that was destined to be printer's copy. He would have seen that parts of the copy of Valdarfer's edition were heavily annotated, probably even interspersed with leaves of manuscript where longer passages needed to be inserted which could not be accommodated by writing in the margins. Other parts were merely sprinkled with additional colons and full points. Part of the exemplar was therefore copy which required careful attention, other parts plain sailing.

A rough count of pages must have preceded the definitive marking of copy. The Master Printer must have decided that in the new edition typesetting should be more compact than in the exemplar, for where resetting took place page-for-page, the exemplar's pages which contained usually 40 lines were reset with 38 or 39 lines per page, whereas the type was of similar size to that of the exemplar. He then proceeded with dividing the text up into quires, and also decided to divide the exemplar overall into two sections, presumably for concurrent production. In the collation formula he established for BMC, Victor Scholderer inserted a semicolon after the two quires in sixes (q–r[6]), indicating a break in the sequence.[36] Occurring almost exactly halfway through the book (144/142 leaves), this was indeed a logical place for dividing the exemplar in two. The compositor of the first half of the text made a very precise fit with the following part, which was probably in print when he arrived at this point, having been produced in parallel with the first half of the exemplar. *De domo sua* ends on r6[b], at the end of l. 38, leaving out only a full point at the end of the final sentence. At the first page of the second half of the exemplar, ſ1[a], is the beginning of the oration *In Vatinium testem*.

It became clear when checking the endings of quires that the division into quires and its marking must have been a stringent directive to the compositors. Where they had to set page-for-page, it was easy enough to follow precisely the instruction of the casting off, and with it the quire structure of the exemplar (in quires a–d, f–g, u, xx, x–B). In other sections, the casting off was the result of counting, and the beginnings (or ends) of quires must have been clearly marked with a stroke between lines and a marginal note by the Master Printer, as can be seen in extant examples of printer's copy. Compositors must have kept to

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36   Apparently overlooked by Haebler.

such markings in 10 quires (h, l, n, p, ſ, s, t, yy, zz, &&, aa). Within the quires pages were probably marked, because the Master Printer must have counted out their length. But the compositors were not always obliged to keep to marks indicating pages; they appear to have been free to ignore any marking of pages, as long as they kept to the marking at the end of a quire. In practice they usually did not stray far (as counting and checking through several quires reveals). The number of lines of the exemplar which they set in each page—in so far as checked—is at times irregular—for example, in quire f it varies from 39½ to 46 lines—but most often is at 41–42 lines. They incorporated any minor textual changes marked by the editor as they went along.

Although many sections of the text were strongly abbreviated, and the length of the pages vacillates between 38 and 39 lines (a method of copy-fitting), over-all the book looks very regular. The 'short pages' not specified in BMC's note fall at the end of orations where the following oration was to begin on a new page. Only in *Pro Sulla*, which was partly set page-for-page, do we find page d10ᵃ ending in the middle of the text at l. 29, leaving the rest of the page blank. On the verso, d10ᵇ, the text continues, and the end of this page it also coincides with the end of quire [d] of the exemplar. There is no textual deviation from the exemplar, and the irregularity can only be understood as showing that the first outer forme (d1ᵃ–d10ᵇ) was set and printed before the first inner forme (d1ᵇ–d10ᵃ). It is well to remember that printing by formes may be revealed at places in the quire other than the middle sheets. But the irregularity reveals a crucial element in the production of this book: that printing by formes, beginning with the first outer forme of each quire, was the method by which the accuracy of following the casting off of quires was achieved.

The strictness with which the marking of the ends of most quires was ob-served by the compositors makes it all the more remarkable that there were places where it had apparently been impossible to follow this instruction. In those cases the textual unit, the individual oration, took precedence over the demarcation of quires. In quires q and r, the oration *De domo sua* seems to have been set as a continuous unit, ignoring any demarcation of the beginning of quire r. All that mattered for the compositor was ending the oration at the end of r6ᵇ, and he did. Similarly, in quire ſ the text of *Pro Caelio*, which began on ſ6ᵃ, runs on until s7ᵇ, ignoring the end of quire ſ. Quire s ends according to casting off. As noted before, these deviations from the pattern of casting off make these four orations the prime candidates for scrutiny of textual variation.

There is a minor irregularity in the sequence of printed signatures, in itself unusual, recorded in the collation formula (see Appendix 1). Quires y–z¹⁰ are signed with distinct characters in a smaller fount. For these two quires work may have been taken over by a different compositor, who set *De lege agraria*

(II), *Pro C. Rabirio*, and *Pro Caecina* page-for-page, apparently in a section of the exemplar without or with very little editorial annotation, even without notes supplying the titles of *De lege agraria* (II) on x6ᵃ and *Pro C. Rabirio* on y8ᵃ, which—like all other titles—are also absent in the exemplar.

In BMC V irregularities were also noted in Girardengus's related Cicero edition, the *Tusculanae disputationes*, printed in the same year and probably meant to be issued together with the *Orationes*.[37] There is no way of knowing whether the text was provided by G's anonymous editor of the *Orationes*, and if so, whether he had again produced a much annotated text. BMC notes the reduction of lines on as many as 28 pages, and specifies particularly short pages on d2ᵇ in quire d8 and k2ᵇ in quire k8, both the second page of the second inner forme in the quire. This can therefore not be readily explained by printing by formes, and is probably more an effect of copy-fitting or struggling with difficult copy.

There remains one final observation. In its description of Pincius's edition of the *Orationes*, printed in Venice in 1493, BMC V notes that 'the contents are as in Girardengus's 1480 edition with the addition of the two 'orationes absque principio', Pro Fonteio and Pro Roscio comoedo, inserted immediately before the Catilinarian orations.'[38] The *Gesamtkatalog* notes, less cautiously and with less precision, 'Als Vorlage diente eine der vorhergehenden Ausgaben, deren Text jedoch um die Reden 3 und 5 vermehrt wurde'.[39] The investigation of *Pro Cluentio* and *Cum Senatui gratias egit* discussed above can answer the implied question by putting it beyond doubt that Pincius set his edition from a copy of Girardengus, 1480, for the passages missing in the two earlier editions (Valdarfer, Ambergau) are present in Pincius. The work of Girardengus's diligent corrector had not been in vain.

Appendix 1: Contents of the Editions of Valdarfer (V) and Girardengus (G)

The *Gesamtkatalog* (vol. VI, col. 542) lists Cicero's orations known in the fifteenth century. All are included in the editions edited by Ludovicus Carbo, published 1471–1480, except *Pro Q. Roscio comoedo*, the Verrines, *Pro Fonteio*, and Philippics I–XIV.

37　GW 6892, ISTC ic00634000, BMC V, p. 272. I have not investigated its textual relation to any of the four previous editions, GW 6888–6891.

38　BMC V, p. 495, IB. 23646.

39　GW 6768.

Valdarfer's edition collates (see BMC V, reprint 1963):

> [*^{2} a–e^{10} f$^{10-1}$ g–k^{10} l8m–o^{10} p^{10+1} q–r^{10} s^8 t–z^{10} A–D^{10} E^8]. 276 leaves, the first blank.

Girardengus's edition collates:

> a^{12} b–e^{10} f–p^8 q–r^6; ʃ s–u xx- zz^8 &&^{8} aa^{10} x–z^{10} &^{10} A–B^{10} C^8. 286 leaves, 05 blank.

Legenda:
'pfp': page for page
|||: oration ends at page-end

		Valdarfer, 1471	Girardengus, 1480	Notes on G's reprinting
	Registrum		a1^b ('prima alba')	
	Tabula	[a]$^{2a-b}$ with leaf references	a^{2a-b} without leaf references	
1	Pro Cn. Pompeio	[a]3^a–[a]10^b |||	a3^a–a10^b |||	
2	Pro Milone	[a]11^a–[b]10^b |||	a11^a–b10^b |||	pfp, except end of b1^a
3	Pro Plancio	[c]1^a–[d]4^a |||	c1^a–d4^a |||	pfp
4	Pro Sulla	[d]4^b–[e]5^a |||	d4^b–e5^a |||	pfp from d5^b; only 29 lines on d10^a
5	Pro Archia poeta	[e]5^b–[e]9^a |||	e5^b–e9^a, l. 24	
6	De lege agraria (III) ad populum	[e]9b–[e]10^b |||	e9^a, l. 25–e10^b, l. 25	
7	Pro Marcello	[f]1^a–[f]4^a, l. 28	e10^b, l. 26–f4^a, l. 1	
8	De lege agraria (I) contra P. Rullum	[f]4^a, l. 29–[f]7^a |||	f4^a, l. 2–f6^b, l. 19	
9	Pro Ligario	[f]7^b–[g]2^b, l. 3	f6^b, l. 20–g2^b, l. 2	
10	Pro rege Deiotaro	[g]2^b, l. 4–[g]7^a, l. 6	g2^b, l. 3–g7^a, l. 6	pfp from g4^b
11	Pro Cluentio	[g]7^a, l. 7–[i]8^a, l. 24	g7^a, l. 7–k8^a |||	pfp to i2^a

(cont.)

		Valdarfer, 1471	Girardengus, 1480	Notes on G's reprinting
12	Pro Quinctio	[i]8ᵃ, l. 25–[k]8ᵃ, l. 18	k8ᵇ–m2ᵃ, l. 19	
13	Pro Flacco	[k]8ᵃ, l. 19–[m]2ᵇ, l. 30	m2ᵃ, l. 20–n6ᵃ, l. 28	pfp from n5ᵃ
14	Cum populo gratias egit	[m]2ᵇ, l. 31–[m]6ᵃ, l. 7	n6ᵃ, l. 29–o1ᵇ, l. 7	
15	Cum senatui gratias egit	[m]6ᵃ, l. 8–[m]10ᵇ, l. 27	o1ᵇ, l. 8–o8ᵃ, l. 20	
16	Pridie quam in exilium iret	[m]10ᵇ, l. 28–[n]3ᵇ |||	o8ᵃ, l. 21–p3ᵃ |||	final 3 pages pfp
17	De domo sua	[n]4a–[p]1ᵃ, l. 6	p3ᵇ–r6ᵇ |||	partly pfp (p4ᵃ, p5ᵃ, p5ᵇ) End of compositor's stint.
18	In Vatinium testem	[p]1ᵃ, l. 7–[p]5ᵃ |||	ſ1ᵃ–ſ6ᵃ, l. 12	
19	Pro Caelio	[p]5ᵇ–[q]3ᵇ |||	ſ6ᵃ, l. 13–s7ᵇ |||	
20	Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino	[q]4ᵃ–[r]8ᵇ, l. 31	s8ᵃ–u6ᵇ, l. 30	pfp to t8ᵃ, thereafter almost pfp
21	Pro Murena	[r]8ᵇ, l. 32–[t]3ᵃ, l. 26	u6ᵇ, l. 31–yy3ᵃ, l. 21	largely pfp
22	Pro Balbo	[t]3ᵃ, l. 27–[t]10ᵇ |||	yy3ᵃ, l. 22–zz2ᵇ |||	partly pfp
23	De haruspicum responso	[v]1ᵃ–[v]9ᵇ, l. 26	zz3ᵃ–&&3ᵇ, l. 25	pfp from zz5ᵃ
24	De provinciis consularibus	[v]9ᵇ, l. 27–[x]5ᵇ, l. 21	&&3ᵇ, l. 26–aa1ᵇ, l. 17	pfp
25	Pro Sestio	[x]5ᵇ, l. 22–[y]6ᵃ, l. 9	aa1ᵇ, l. 18–x6ᵃ, l. 9	
26	De lege agraria (II)	[y]6ᵃ, l. 10–[z]8ᵃ, l. 24 |||	x6ᵃ, l. 10–y8ᵃ, l. 24	pfp
27	Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo	[y]8ᵃ, l. 25–[A]1ᵇ |||	y8ᵃ, l. 25–z1ᵇ |||	pfp
28	Pro Caecina	[A]2ᵃ–B3ᵃ |||	z2ᵃ–&3ᵃ |||	pfp, except &1ᵇ, &2ᵃ

		Valdarfer, 1471	Girardengus, 1480	Notes on G's reprinting
29	In Pisonem	[B]3^b–[C]5^b ‖‖	&3^b–A5^b ‖‖	pfp except 3 pp
30	Pro C. Rabirio Postumo	[C]6^a–[C]10^a ‖‖	A6^a–A10^a ‖‖	pfp
31	Invectiva C. Sallustii in Ciceronem	[C]10^b–[D]1^a, l. 31	A10^b–B1^a, l. 30	pfp
32	Contra C. Sallustium invectiva	[D]1^a, l. 32–[D]3^a ‖‖	B1^a, l. 31–B3^a ‖‖	pfp
33	In Catilinam I	[D]3^b–[D]7^a ‖‖	B3^b–B7^a ‖‖	pfp until B5^a
34	In Catilinam II	[D]7^b–[E]1^a, l. 19	B7^b–C1^a, l. 17	pfp
35	In Catilinam III	[E]1^a, l. 20–[E]5^a, l. 17	C1^a, l. 18–C4^b ‖‖	
36	In Catilinam IV	[E]5^a, l. 18–[E]8^b, l. 15	C5^a–C8^a	
	Editor's verse and colophon	[E]8^b, ll. 16–30	C8^a, ll. 36–37	

Appendix 11: Quire- and Page Structures in Relation to Texts

Quire	Ends of quires in G		Equals end of quire in V	Equals page-end in V
a^{12}	= V a10^b		=	
b^{10}	= V b10^b	end of oration	=	
c^{10}	= V c10^b		=	
d^{10}	= V d10^b		=	
e^{10}	G continues with next oration	end of oration		
f^8	= V f9^b (end of quire)		=	
g^8	= V g10^b		=	

(cont.)

Quire	Ends of quires in G		Equals end of quire in V	Equals page-end in V
h^8	= V $h6^b$			=
i^8	≠ (interpolations)			
k^8	≠ (interpolations)	G is 16 lines behind V's page-end		
l^8	= V $k6^b$			=
m^8	≠ V $l5^a$, l. 3, in middle of line	not pfp		
n^8	= V $o5^b$			=
o^8	≠ V $n1^b$, in l. 5	has begun = V $m6^a$, l. 1 interpolations		
p^8	= V $n9^a$			=
q^6	≠ V $o5^b$, in l. 24	has begun = V $n10^a$, l. 1		
r^6	= V $p1^a$, l. 6	perfect fit with divided copy		
$ſ^8$	≠ V $p8^a$, l. 17 (in the line)			
s^8	= V $q4^b$			=
t^8	= V $r2^b$	editing at page-end: G adds 3 words to text		=
u^8	= V $r10^b$		=	
xx^8	= V $s8^b$		=	
yy^8	= V $t8^b$			=
zz^8	= V $v6^b$			=
$\&\&^8$	=V $x8^b$			=
aa^{10}	= V $x8^b$			=
x^{10}	= V $y10^b$		=	
y^{10}	= V $z10^b$		=	
z^{10}	= V $A10^b$		=	
$\&^{10}$	= V $B10^b$		=	
A^{10}	= V $C10^b$		=	
B^{10}	= V $D10^b$		=	
C^8	≠			

G does not follow V's quire or page structure in quires:

i–k (*Pro Cluentio*)
m   (*Pro Flacco*)
o   (*Cum senatui gratias egit*)
q–r (*De domo sua*)
ſ   (*In Vatinium testem, Pro Caelio*)
C   (*In Catilinam* II, IV)

From Poggio to Caxton: Early Translations of Some of Poggio's Latin *Facetiae*

The seven facetiae by Poggio Bracciolini, or Poggio the Florentine, are a peculiar presence in the vernacular versions of the fables of Aesop which began with the compilation assembled by Heinrich Steinhöwel and translated by him into German. This very successful collection was published c. 1476 in Ulm and was subsequently translated and published in French, English (from the French, by William Caxton), Dutch, Low-German, and Czech. Steinhöwel's compilation was expressly intended to be instructive and moralising, and the wisdom expressed in the Aesopian fables offered ample material for this purpose. But the *Facetiae* are not moralising or edifying at all. Poggio purported to record his collection of jokes and anecdotes in order to demonstrate that Latin was flexible enough to be written as a living language. He made a point of explaining that his facetiae were stories (and 'lies') swapped by the apostolic secretaries in the antechambers of the papal Curia, and it adds to their comedic effect to imagine the anecdotes emanating from the mouths of these highly educated, well-travelled, worldly men, presumably delivered deadpan and with the appropriate accents. For unlike the mostly animal population of the fables of Aesop and his followers, Poggio's stories are about humans from all walks of life and living in many parts of the Western world, speaking different languages, their words all rendered in Latin. Merchants, knights, travellers, husbands, clerics, princes of the Church, and women—young and old—are generally the protagonists in the brief farces, in which dialogue and situations develop and change with dynamic speed, unlike the more static interactions between the subjects of the Aesopian fables. The facetiae were—deservedly—considered anti-clerical, bawdy, and obscene, but were no less popular for that.

When Steinhöwel concluded his fable book with seven of Poggio's stories, he selected them from the collection of 273 facetiae which their author had consolidated in the mid-1450s. By the middle of the 1470s these were at the height of their dissemination in print in Latin. Steinhöwel was the first to translate a few. What led him to this selection is puzzling. He added a lengthy apology for the inclusion of the bawdiest in his selection ('De adulescentula quae virum de parvo priapo accusavit', about the groom who places proof of his manhood on the dinner table, to the admiration of the guests), but justified its

inclusion by pointing out that he was leaving out many other scabrous stories. His apology (in German) was not included in any of the translations of his version. One other story in his selection is mildly sacrilegious, while the story of the priest who was allowed to bury his little dog in holy ground by bribing the bishop is irreverent and outright anti-clerical. Translating Poggio's stories from the Latin defeats their author's original purpose, but they seem to have led the translators into newfound freedom in retelling the jokes, at least to some degree. The vernacular languages needed more words to get the meaning across, and translators felt the need to introduce clarifications where the Latin had allowed greater economy of expression.

Caxton was a prolific translator, but for all his efforts modern commentators have found him lacking in verbal inventiveness. The style of his translations is usually flat, failing to reflect any interest in finding fresh expressions, his vocabulary remaining painfully close to the originals on which his translations were based. Only in rendering dialogue and inserting small clarifications is Caxton seen as redeeming some of his reputation of being a dull translator. But were his translations always so unimaginative? In Poggio's brief anecdotes he encountered prose with far more vibrant qualities than the texts, often with much longer traditions, with which he had previously engaged. Could Poggio's storytelling have freed him from the somnolent mode that had overtaken him when translating the Aesopian fables? The seven facetiae he found in his model, and the four he added, are therefore worth some exploration.

In order to establish if, where, and how he intervened in the text, the source for his translation has to be identified as precisely as possible. Recent discoveries have enabled us to get closer to the Aesopus texts which Caxton translated, including some of the facetiae. But reader be warned: it is a long way to get there.

Caxton as Translator

If Caxton deserves a poor reputation for the quality of his translations, he may make up for it in quantity. He translated no fewer than 23 works into English, mainly from French, but a few from Latin and Dutch.[1] In *Caxton and His World* (1969), Norman F. Blake devoted a chapter to Caxton as translator and offered

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1   Three were reprinted by him: *The game of chess*, (Duff 81–82), *The mirror of the world* (Duff 401–402), and *Reynard the Fox* (Duff 358–359).

numerous examples.[2] His conclusions, briefly summed up, were that although Caxton was not notably worse than his contemporaries, he remained too close to French syntax and vocabulary, working with such 'plodding fidelity'[3] that he sometimes made careless mistakes, that he added 'doublets', but that for his time they were not exceptionally frequent. But he also noted that Caxton occasionally corrected or expanded the original, making the meaning clearer. In her text edition of *The book of the Knight of the Tower*, which Caxton had translated from an unidentified manuscript source in French, Marguerite Offord concurred with Blake's assessment, and noted that Caxton apparently did not look back once he had translated a passage and could have done with revision. But she also elaborated Blake's observation of Caxton improving a text, noted that he would add descriptive touches here and there, and could effectively render the give-and-take of a conversation.[4] Similarly, Wytze and Lotte Hellinga observed in a short study of Caxton's translation of *Reynard the Fox* that his vivid visual imagination contributed to clarifying the story. We demonstrated some instances where Caxton's divergences from the original text were attempts to depict a situation with greater precision, and a desire to find a concrete image where the Dutch text was inclined to wander into abstractions.[5]

Specifically, on Caxton's translation of *Aesop*, Robert T. Lenaghan noted in his text edition that, even if sometimes imprecise, he could 'swell his prose to remarkable prolixity'; the addition of doublets (already frequent in the French model) could lend dignity to the concluding statements.[6] In his introduction to a facsimile edition of Caxton's *Aesop*, Douglas Gray remarked that there is a great deal of competent prose, although the attempts at achieving 'greater rotundity' by the use of doublets may offend the modern ear.[7]

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2 Norman F. Blake, *Caxton and His World* (London, 1969), pp. 125–150.

3 Quoting E.A. Axon's introduction to the verbatim reprint of Caxton's *Game and playe of the Chesse, 1474* (London, 1883).

4 Marguerite Y. Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower Translated by William Caxton* [EETS Supplementary Series 2] (London, 1971), pp. xxvi–xxx.

5 Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, 'Between Two Languages: Caxton's Translation of Reynaert de vos', in G.A.M. Janssens and F.G.A.M. Aarts (eds.), *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T.A. Birrell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 119–131.

6 Robert T. Lenaghan, *Caxton's Aesop. Edited with an Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), pp. 18–21 (20).

7 Douglas Gray (ed.), *Guillaume Caoursin, The siege of Rhodes trans. by John Kaye and … The book of subtyl histories and fables of Esope* [Scholars' facsimiles & reprints] (Delmar, 1975), pp. 5–6.

All these judgements are based on the premise that we can identify the text on which Caxton based his translation, and also that every translation published by him under his name was in fact solely his own work. It is possible for most of Caxton's translations to indicate the group of sources to which his basis belonged within the transmission of the text. But this can hardly ever be more precise than 'Caxton used a manuscript that was closely related to Royal MS 19 A. IX and which also derived from BnF MS fr. 574', as is the case with his translation of Gossuin de Metz, *L'Image du monde*, which became *The mirror of the world*.[8] Such uncertainty is significant, for in vernacular prose of the period one may expect small but frequently occurring variation between sources. This may not have much influence on the overall assessment of Caxton's talents as translator, but when quoting specific instances we have to be aware that a variant or textual improvement may have originated in the unidentified original from which he worked.

As to answering the question of whether all the translations are Caxton's own work, or whether he sometimes delegated stretches of text to someone deemed capable of being accurate, if not imaginative, in his use of the English language, this has to remain speculative, at least until such analysis of the linguistic characteristics of his translations is undertaken, as has been so illuminating in the case of his editing of *Le Morte Darthur*.[9]

Caxton's Translations from Printed Books

Most of Caxton's sources were unidentified manuscripts which are probably no longer extant. When we can identify a printed source or a group of editions, they may bring us closer to the form of the text Caxton actually used, although appearing in print does not necessarily signal the stabilisation of a text. Only in eight instances is it likely that he used for his translation a printed version, and until recently we could be certain of only two printed editions which he must have had under his eyes. His translations working from printed books are (in chronological order of publication):

Reynard the fox (1481–1482), *The Golden legend* (1483–1484), pseudo-Cato, *Disticha moralia* (early 1484), *Aesop* (26 March 1484), *Charles the Great* (1 December 1485), *The Doctrinal of sapience* (after 7 May 1489), *The four sons of*

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8   Duff 401, GW 10966, ISTC im00883000. On Caxton's source: BMC XI, p. 122.

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Aymon (c. 1490), and pseudo-Jerome, *Lyff of the faders* (posthumously, 1495).[10]
Of four of these works several printed editions had been published by the
time Caxton must have translated the text, and without an extensive textual
investigation it is impossible to decide which edition he used. For his fourth
edition of the *Disticha Catonis*, Caxton decided not to use the text of his previ-
ous three editions—the translation by Benedict Burgh—but instead the much
more extensive *Le cathon en francoys*, which included moralising exempla. It
had been printed at least twice in Lyon: c. 1477 by Martin Huss[11] and c. 1479 by
Guillaume le Roy for Barthelémy Buyer.[12] An edition by the anonymous Lyon-
nese Printer of *l'Abusé en court* is now thought to have been published c. 1484,
and therefore too late for Caxton's translation.[13] The prose version of a history of
Charlemagne by Jean Bagnyon was printed at least five times before the end of
1485, when Caxton's translation appeared in print. It was first published in 1478
in Geneva by Adam Steinschaber, followed by two more editions in Geneva by
Simon du Jardin (c. 1480) and Louis Cruse (1483), all with the title *Fierabras*.[14]
Thereafter, this popular book was twice printed in Lyon by Guillaume le Roy,
dated with some reservation 1484 and 1485.[15] Any one of the five editions could
therefore possibly have been used by Caxton, whose edition of the translation,
with the title *Charles the Great*, is dated 1 December 1485.[16] *Le doctrinal de sapi-
ence*, which Caxton translated in 1489 as *The doctrinal of sapience*, was even
more popular.[17] It started in 1478 with three editions by Adam Steinschaber
in Geneva, followed before 1489 by seven reprints in Geneva, Lyon, Promen-
toux, Chambéry, and Paris.[18] It is perhaps most probable that Caxton used one
of the two editions printed by Guillaume le Roy in Lyon, 1485 and 1486,[19] but
this is difficult to ascertain. For the *Four sons of Aymon*, published c. 1490,[20]
Caxton may have used either of two editions of *Les quatre fils Aymon* printed

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10   Duff 358, 408–409, 79, 4, 83, 127, 152, 235; BMC XI, pp. 126–127, 144–149, 150, 153–155, 160, 169,
      197–198.
11   GW 6365–6366, ISTC ic00314450, ic00314550.
12   ISTC ic00314360, GW 0636310N. Copy at Paris, BnF, CIBN C-177.
13   GW 6364 dated this edition c. 1480; ISTC ic00314530.
14   GW 12542–12544, ISTC if00167700, if00167750, if00167800.
15   GW 12545–12546, ISTC if00167900, if00167850.
16   Duff 83, GW 12551, ISTC ic00204800.
17   Duff 127, GW 8625, ISTC id00302000.
18   GW 8605–8614, id00301100 (and following).
19   GW 8611–8612, ISTC id00301450, id00301500.
20   Duff 152, GW 3141, ISTC ia01434500.

in Lyon by Guillaume le Roy, c. 1482–1485, and by the Printer of the *Abusé en court*.[21]

For other translations we are on more certain ground. The source for Caxton's *Reynard* translation is undoubtedly the Dutch prose version printed by Gheraert Leeu in Gouda.[22] Evidence for Caxton's direct derivation from Leeu is not only the lack of other obvious sources, but also the quirky renaming of one of the witnesses in the animal court-case, the ram, who is commonly known as 'Bellyn'. In Leeu's version he appears several times as 'Bellart', clearly a printing-house joke to tease Jacob Bellaert, later a printer closely associated with Gheraert Leeu and who is thought to have been employed by him in the late 1470s.[23] In Caxton's translation the ram is once named 'Bellart', not only a remnant of an old joke, but also yet another sign that Caxton was not always deeply engaged in the text he was translating. The only uncertainty in identifying Caxton's actual source, albeit a pedantic point, is that internal evidence shows that Leeu's still extant edition, printed in 1479, was preceded by an earlier one (no longer extant), in all likelihood also produced by him.[24] Caxton may therefore have used either Leeu's first or his second edition.

Caxton's largest publication by far is the *Golden Legend*,[25] and the printed edition which he used as the framework for his large book is Jean de Vignay's translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, known as the *Legende dorée*, printed by an anonymous printer in Flanders, c. 1475–1477.[26] Caxton adapted this work by inserting the legends of English saints into the liturgical cycle, taking them from English and some Latin sources; he preceded the work with 'Stories of the Bible', extracts from the Old Testament which do not belong to the textual tradition of de Voragine's *Legenda*. To his translation of de Vignay's version he also interpolated some of his own experiences relating

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21   GW 3133–3134, ISTC ia01432800, ia01432900.

22   Leeu: GW 12725, BMC IX, p. 32, ILC 1859, ISTC ir00135800; Caxton: GW 12728–12729, Duff 358–359, ISTC ir00137000, ir00137100.

23   Jacob Bellaert's relation to Gheraert Leeu is discussed more extensively in the essay on *The History of Jason*, pp. 323–325 in the present volume.

24   The evidence was set out in Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, 'De betekenis van de incunabel-kunde voor de Neerlandistiek', in E. Lindenberg etc. (eds.), *Dietse Studies. Bundel aangebied aan Prof. Dr. J. du Plessis Scholtz by geleentheid van sy vyf-en-sestigste verjaardag, 14 mei 1965* (Kaapstad, 1965), pp. 51–76.

25   Duff 408–409, ISTC ij00148000, GW M11432.

26   Designated as 'the Printer of Flavius Josephus'. See BMC IX, p. 208, ILC 1318, ISTC ij00151500, GW M11458.

to the saints and their veneration. Caxton's *Golden Legend* is therefore not a faithful representation of the book printed in Flanders, but more the work of an enthusiastic compiler who is mindful of what a new English readership might appreciate.[27] The source for Caxton's final work, his translation of the pseudo-Jerome *Vitas patrum*, can be identified as the translation of the Latin work into French published in 1486/1487 in Lyon by Nicolaus Philippi and Jean du Pré.[28] Wynkyn de Worde published the *Lyff of the faders* in 1495, enriching it with many woodcuts and adding in the colophon that Caxton had completed the translation on the last day of his life.[29]

Steinhöwel's Aesop Compilation

This leaves Caxton's *Aesop* as the sixth text translated from a printed book. It has long been recognised as belonging to the tradition of printed versions of the fables of Aesop which began with Heinrich Steinhöwel's translation into German, first published by Johann Zainer in Ulm c. 1476.[30] Steinhöwel's compilation spans many centuries. The fables of Aesop in a Latin version dating from the first century AD and known as 'Romulus' are divided into four books; this is preceded by the life of the probably mythical Aesop by Ranuccio Aretino, a humanist author of the early fifteenth century. They are followed by collections of later fables, the 'Extravagantes', and the 17 'Novae fabulae' translated by Ranuccio, then 27 fables by Avianus, who wrote them in the fifth century, and 13 longer fables by Petrus Alphonsus, who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century. Steinhöwel concluded his fable book with a selection of seven longer anecdotes translated from Poggio's collection of 273 *Facetiae*, which their author consolidated in the mid-1450s. By the middle of the 1470s the *Facetiae* had been widely disseminated in print in the Latin in which they had been written.[31]

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27   For an extensive analysis and list of contents, see BMC XI, pp. 144–149.

28   CIBN H-131. A digitised version of the BnF copy is available online, conveniently accessed via ISTC ih00214000.

29   Duff 235, ISTC ih00213000, GW M50906, BMC XI, pp. 197–198.

30   GW 351; Peter Amelung, *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten 1473–1500* (Stuttgart, 1979), no. 28.

31   By the time Steinhöwel's compilation appeared in print, at least 11 editions of Poggio's Latin *Facetiae* had been published in Venice, Rome, Ferrara, Nuremberg, Louvain, Wrocław, and Paris. See the essay on the transmission of the *Facetiae* in print in the present

The 'Ulm Aesop', as it became known, is bilingual; the German version of each fable is preceded by the Latin version from which Steinhöwel had translated. Its most striking feature is the sequence of 208 woodcuts, each only partly framed and laid out over the width of the printed page. Each woodcut is placed to head the German version of the fables, or single episodes of the Life. In this way illustration served to emphasise the structure of the text and was also explicitly linked to bringing vernacular texts to life for readers who would not be reading them in Latin. The many schoolchildren who had to read Latin versions of Aesop's fables as part of their early instruction in the language were not granted the benefit of pictures until a much later time.

Steinhöwel's selection of texts, combined with the exceptionally fine woodcuts Johann Zainer had procured, became the model for all subsequent reprints in German (none of them bilingual)[32] and translation into vernacular languages: Low-German and 'Kölnisch' or 'Ripuarisch',[33] French, English, Dutch, and Czech.[34] Its woodcuts were copied, these copies were copied, and so on, giving rise to a large number of successive generations of cuts, all still echoing the original designs, with reversals and small variations. The first translation based on the Ulm *Aesop* (probably working from its texts in Latin) was into French, the work of an Augustinian monk about whom not much more is known than his name, Julien Macho, apart from his prolific work as translator published by several Lyonnese printers. His translations include a translation of the New Testament (Guillaume le Roy, c. 1476); the *Speculum vitae humanae* and a collection of lives of saints (both first published by Barthelémy Buyer in 1477); a version of the *Bible moralisée* with the title *L'exposition et la vraye declaration de la Bible* (Mathias Huss, c. 1477); and a version of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, first printed by Mathias Huss in 1478 and reprinted many times.[35] The first edition of Macho's translation of *Aesop* was printed by Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhart, with the colophon date 26 August 1480.[36] Its contents were exactly the same as Steinhöwel's compilation, ending with

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volume, pp. 168–200. When Caxton wrote his translation c. 1483, the total had risen to 22, including editions printed by Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhart in Lyon, c. 1478 and c. 1480, printers with whom other translations by Caxton are associated; they are ISTC ip00862000, ip00864300, GW M34564 and M3456310, CIBN P-524, BMC VIII, p. 243.

32   GW 352–363, ISTC ia00119000 and following.

33   Distinguished by GW 364–366.

34   GW 367–378, ISTC ia00116500.

35   For more details, see Beate Hecker, *Esope, translate de latin en francoys par Julien Macho* [Hamburger romanistische Dissertationen 20] (Hamburg, 1982), pp. XXIII–XXXI.

36   GW 368, ISTC ia00118200.

the seven facetiae by Poggio.[37] This French version was reprinted at least seven times in the fifteenth century alone.[38]

The following facetiae were included by Steinhöwel and in all editions following him:

Steinhöwel = Macho	Caxton
1.[39] De Caietano paupere nauclero. Poggio Facetia 1	Caxton: Of the subtylyte of the woman for to deceyue her husbond. fol. r6[a–b]
2. De vidua accensa libidine cum paupere. Facetia 6	Of the woman and of the ypocryte fol. r6[b]–r7[b]
3. De adulescentula quae virum de parvo priapo accusavit. Facetia 43	Of a yonge woman whiche accused her husband of coulpe or blame fol. r7[b]–r8[b]
4. De medico qui dementes et insanos curabat. Facetia 2	Of huntynge and hawkynge fol. r8[b]–s2[a]
5. Dictum magistri Hugonis Senensis; De monstro; De monstro. Facetiae 31–34	Of the recytacion of somme monstres fol. s2[a]–s3[a]
6. De sacerdote qui caniculum sepelevit. Facetia 36	Of the parsone/ of his dogge/ And of the Bisshop/ s3[a]–s4[a]

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37 Lenaghan, *Caxton's Aesop* (see n. 6 above), p. 8, mistakenly claimed that Macho had omitted one of Poggio's facetiae. He may have accidentally included in his count Steinhöwel's apology for Facetia 43.

38 GW 369–373, the newly discovered edition discussed below (ISTC ia00118250, GW 0036810N), and a fragment, ISTC ia00118900, GW 0037310N.

39 The numbers here used to identify the facetiae were first used c. 1475 in the edition produced by the press 'Au Soufflet Vert' in Paris, no. 11 in the list of editions, Appendix I of the essay 'Poggio's *Facetiae* in Print', p. 185. See also Appendix II of the essay 'Poggio's *Facetiae* in Print', p. 189. They continued largely unchanged in later text editions, the most recent being Pittaluga and Wolff (eds.), *Le Pogge* (Paris, 2005).

	Steinhöwel = Macho	Caxton
7.	De gallo et vulpe. Facetia 79	Of the Foxe of the Cock and of the dogges s4[a–b]
	To these Caxton added:	
	Poggio	No title
8.	Contentio duarum meretricum de tela linea. Facetia 78	Inc.: pogius reherceth that there were two wymmen in Rome … s5[a]
9.	De florentino qui equum emerat. Facetia 164	Inc.: He sayth also that a Marchaunt of Florence bought an hors of a man/ … s5[a–b]
10.	De duorum contentione pro eodem insigni armorum. Facetia 202	Inc.: He telleth also that ther was a carryk of Jene hyred into fraunce for to make warre ayenst englissmen/ s5[b]
11.	De temerario qui asinos curabat. Facetia 87	Inc.: Also he saith that there was a phisycyen dwellyng in a Cyte/ whiche was a grete & a connyng man s5[b]–s6[a]

The Printed Source of Caxton's Translation of Aesop

Caxton stated in the beginning of his Aesop that he had translated it from the French 'in the yere of oure Lorde M. CCCC. lxxxiij', and at the end the colophon date is 26 March 1484.[40] Until recent years there seemed to be only one edition in French from which Caxton could have prepared his English version, the book printed in 1480 by Philippi and Reinhart; the edition printed by Mathias Huss has the date 15 May 1484, and could therefore not have been

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40 The date '26 March' is one day after Lady Day, which in Old Style dating would have marked the transition of year dates, in this case 1483/1484. Alternatively, if Caxton had employed the 'Easter style', in 1484 Easter fell on 18 April, so the date would have been 1484/1485. But Caxton habitually dated his books according to the modern calendar, except when printing liturgical works. We can confidently assume that the printing of Caxton's *Aesop* was completed in the year we call 1484.

used by Caxton.[41] Here the matter rested, until in the 1970s a fragment of an edition was brought to light in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense in Milan; it lacked a colophon but was tentatively identified as printed in Lyon and dated c. 1485–1486.[42] In her very carefully documented study and text edition of Julien Macho's translation, however, Beate Hecker observed that there are many small textual variants between the first edition of 1480 and the Milan fragment, where the Milan edition expands and improves, a process continued in Huss's edition of 1484. Moreover, she noted that Caxton seems to follow sometimes one version, sometimes the other, and she suggested (prophetically, as it turns out) that another edition was followed by Caxton which would have been printed between 1480 (Philippi-Reinhart) and the Milan fragment, which she dates as c. 1482. Even if the edition represented by the Milan fragment might have been considered a possible source for Caxton, it was not investigated further.[43] Although Caxton's *Aesop* was one of his most attractive books, the text generated less interest than the 185 woodcuts with which it is illustrated.[44]

The lack of curiosity about Caxton's textual source changed when yet another hitherto unknown edition was brought to light. In the autumn of 2000 Messrs B. Quaritch's offered in their catalogue no. 4 of that year a substantial fragment of an *Aesop* edition in French consisting of 82 leaves out of a probable total of 144, lacking all after leaf q7, or the 127th leaf of the book if it were complete.[45] This was enough to establish that the edition to which this fragment belonged had the same contents as the other vernacular editions in the Steinhöwel tradition. Its printing type was identified by Martin Davies, who prepared a description of the fragment for Quaritch's and then published an extensive analysis of the fragment which determines its place in the transmission of the text as well as of the woodcut images.[46] Davies identified the fount of type as related to that of the anonymous Lyonnese 'Printer of the *Abusé en court*', who is known to have produced at least eight works, all but one in French

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41   GW 369, ISTC ia00118300. For Philippi-Reinhart see above n. 36.

42   Gianni Mombello, *Le raccolte francesi di favole esopiane dal 1480 alla fine del secolo XVI* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 19–23; ISTC ia00118900, GW 0037310N, following Mombello's dating. Mombello ascribed the book to Johann Neumeister and Martin Huss in an otherwise unknown partnership. Cf. Martin Davies, 'A Tale of Two Aesops', *The Library*, 7th series 7 (2006), pp. 257–288 (see n. 46 below), p. 266, n. 20.

43   Hecker, *Esope translate* (see n. 35 above), pp. XXXVI–XXXIX, LIII.

44   Hodnett, nos. 28–213.

45   Now in a private collection in the United States.

46   Davies, 'A Tale of Two Aesops', pp. 257–288. The edition is now entered in ISTC as ia00118250, in the GW records as GW 0036810N.

and all undated.[47] The type in the *Aesop* fragment is probably in an earlier state of its development than when used by the *Abusé* printer; among other features, it lacks any form of punctuation. The paper stock on which the fragment is printed is also found in a Latin Bible printed by Mathias Huss in 1483.[48] On these grounds Davies arrived at the bibliographical identification of the Quaritch fragment as: 'Lyon, Printer of *Aesop*, c. 1482–1483'. Having thus established that another edition in French preceded Caxton's translation, Davies proceeded to test Caxton's English text against the variants previously noted by the editors of the French and English versions, now augmented with the version of the Aesop printer who was responsible for hundreds of small deviations from the version published in Lyon in 1480. He found that 'where the French editions present differences of phrasing Caxton will always side with the fragment text'.[49] Occasionally Caxton had added a few words, in the pattern that had also been observed by Blake and Offord. Davies concluded, with due caution, that 'Caxton was either translating the text of the fragment, or of another edition still lost that was in all textual essentials indistinguishable from it'. This was confirmed by Davies's further investigation of the woodcuts in Caxton's edition, which were demonstrably copied from the full range of cuts in the edition by the Aesop printer, which in their turn had been copied from the edition of 1480, the images turned round and then back again in the sequence of procedures.[50]

Davies's investigation of the Quaritch fragment led to a highly satisfactory conclusion. It identified the printed book that Caxton had had under his eyes and confirmed—in so far as the very imperfect copy allowed—that he followed exactly the contents of his model, which was identical to Steinhöwel's compilation. Where Caxton had seemed to diverge in his translation from the earliest Lyonnese edition, it was the Printer of Aesop who had introduced the variants, faithfully followed by Caxton, entirely according to the pattern established for some of his other translations.

It is not often that a fragment in poor condition is so rich in new information and insight. But the Quaritch fragment was not to enjoy for long its status of being the unique representative of an edition. A slightly larger fragment of the same edition emerged in France from what must have been a particularly leaky, drafty, vermin-ridden attic. Still, its damaged pages were full of attractive

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47   The dates now assigned to editions by the Printer of the *Abusé en court* range from 1484 to 1487.

48   Davies, 'Two Aesops', p. 275.

49   Davies, 'Two Aesops', p. 277.

50   Davies, 'Two Aesops', pp. 278–279.

FIG. 10.1   *Remains of a copy of* Aesop, *translated into French by Julien Macho, opened on
              damaged pages with woodcuts. Lyon, Jehan Rousset, 10 May 1482. Copy in private
              ownership. By permission of Jean-Baptiste Proyart, Paris.*

woodcuts. A benefactor donated it to a charity, on whose behalf Jean-Baptiste
de Proyart offered it for sale in Paris in 2010.[51]

The fragment consists of 109 more or less complete leaves and among the
cognoscenti is generally, if loosely, referred to as 'that wreck of a book'. But in the
wreck a treasure is hidden, one invaluable element of further information. At its
end sits a loose leaf, but one undoubtedly belonging to what was once a book,

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51   I am very grateful to Nicholas Poole-Wilson for passing on to me De Proyart's extensive
        description.

E- le regnard luy demanda Hau compere que regardes tu qui
tu es fiens si fort le col Et le cocq luy respodit Certes mon fre
re Je vois accourir tresfort et tres ligerement deulx grans chi
ens qui ont la gorge toute ouuerte lesquelz Je cuide qui viene?
pour nous apport r les nouuelles que tu nous as dictes et ado
ques le regnard qui trambloit de paont pour ces deulx chiens
dist au cocq Adieu mon conpere et mon amy Jl est temps que
Je men voise auant que ces deulx chiens viennent plus pres
Et en disant ces parolles commenca a cheminer et a courir et
adoncques le cocq luy demanda Compere pour quoy fuis tu
se celle pasche est faicte Jl ne fault rien doubter Haa dya com
pere se luy va dire le regnard Je doubte tant ces chiens pey
ne ayent point ouy le decret de la paix Et ainsi quant vng
trompeur est trompe cef. le sallaire qui doibt auoir pourquoy
chascung sen doibt garder

DEO GRACIAS

Cy finissent les subtilles fables de esope translatees de
latin en franssois par reuerend docteur en theologie frere Julie
des augustins de lyon auecques les fables Dauien et de Al
fonse et aussi aulcunes fables de poge florentin Imprimes a
lyon par maistre Jehan rousset lan mil quatre cens octante et
deulx le .p. Jour de may

FIG. 10.2 *The final page with colophon of* Aesop, *revealing Jehan Rousset as printer. Copy in private ownership. By permission of Jean-Baptiste Proyart, Paris.*

containing the seventh and last of Poggio's facetiae in the Steinhöwel/Macho compilation, followed after a blank space by the colophon:

'DEO GRACIAS

Cy finissent les subtilles fables de esope translatees de || latin en franssois par reuerend docteur en theologie frere Julie*n* || des augustins de lyon auecques les fables Dauien et de Al || fonse et aussi aulcunes fables de poge florentin Imprimes a || lyon par maistre Jehan rousset lan mil quatre cens octante et || deulx le x Jour de may'

Discovering the name of a hitherto anonymous printer is a very rare event. Jehan Rousset enters the history of early printing—and bibliography—certainly as the individual briefly known as 'the Printer of *Aesop*', and possibly as the more widely known 'Printer of the *Abusé en court*'. Knowledge of his name fills in one of the more challenging voids in the early history of printing and publishing in Lyon. The date '10 May 1482' could not have been a better vindication for Davies's tentative dating 'c. 1482–1483' of the Quaritch fragment.

The brittle leaf also contains a significant revelation about Caxton as translator and compiler. Since the discovery of Caxton's source, a question hovered over Poggio's four facetiae which Caxton added to Steinhöwel's selection at the end of the English *Aesop*, followed by two anecdotal stories in which Caxton addressed the reader in the first person. But were those four facetiae perhaps already present in the newly discovered Lyonnese edition, which so frequently deviated from the edition of 1480, which ended, as Steinhöwel did, with Poggio's 'De gallo et vulpe'? Finding the cockerel and the fox immediately followed by Rousset's colophon answers this question. After faithfully following the tradition as represented in his model, the additions were unique to Caxton and apparently his personal choice; if nothing else, they reveal that Caxton liked Poggio's *Facetiae*. And even that he ventured to translate four facetiae from the Latin.[52]

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52   Robert H. Wilson, 'The Poggiana in Caxton's Esope', *Philological Quarterly* 30 (1951), pp. 348–352, pointed out that in an edition of a French version of *Aesop*, printed in Antwerp in 1532 (Jehan le Graphier pour Gregoire Bont, Nijhoff-Kronenberg 39, London BL G.7703), the tale of the two Roman courtesans (Facetia 78, and Caxton's eighth facetia) is present, and he suggested that there may have been an earlier edition of this French version, printed 50 years earlier and no longer extant, from which Caxton worked. Perhaps a lost edition should not be ruled out entirely, but in view of the wide dissemination in print of

What Survives of Rousset's Aesop Edition

In November 2012 Mr De Proyart very kindly offered me the opportunity to examine the fragment.[53] According to the description in which the book was offered, only two leaves (r6 and r7) were wanting at the end, before the miraculously preserved leaf containing the colophon. This raised in me the hope of finding the actual text from which Caxton had translated the seven of Poggio's facetiae that he had added to Steinhöwel's selection.

My visit led to some revision of the description of the fragment. The wooden boards in which the volume was originally bound are preserved, the spine wanting. The Aesop is bound first with a copy of Rodericus Zamorensis, *Speculum vitae humanae*, printed in Lyon by Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhart, 20 August 1482, a reprint of another translation by Julien Macho.[54] The format of both books is in-folio. Both are rubricated in red and blue. I have limited my description to *Aesop*. Its leaves are signed to the fold; the first complete leaf in the Proyart fragment of *Aesop* is c3, preceded by eight torn fragments of leaves attached to the book block.[55] As Davies notes, since all of the known parts of the book are regular quires of eight leaves, it is likely that two quires in eights, a^8 and b^8, had preceded quire c^8.[56] The penultimate leaf in the Proyart fragment, still attached to the book block, is the leaf following r4. In the sequence c3–r5, seven leaves are missing (e8, g3, i8, n3 and 4, p6 and 7). Nevertheless, what remains makes it feasible to reconstruct a contents list of Rousset's edition and present it in parallel with Caxton's.[57]

Caxton's edition collates a–s^8, 144 leaves, s7 and s8 blank. Rousset's probably had the same collation, a–s^8, 144 leaves, or possibly a–r^8 s^{10}, 146 leaves.

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the Latin *Facetiae*, it is far likelier that Caxton used one of the 22 editions in Latin known to have been extant by 1483, or possibly one that is now lost. In the edition of 1532 the three other facetiae added by Caxton are not present, but instead Facetia 78 is followed by a French version of Facetia 77. The translations are much elaborated versions of the Latin text. I have not investigated whether the four editions printed after 1500 and preceding the Antwerp edition listed by Hecker, *Esope translate* (see n. 35 above), include the two additions to the Steinhöwel corpus.

53   I am very grateful to Felix de Marez Oyens, Paris, for arranging this visit.

54   ISTC ir00230000, GW M38517, reprinted from the edition printed in 1477 by Guillaume le Roy and Barthélemy Buyer, ISTC ir00229000, GW M38513.

55   The first legible signature in the Quaritch fragment is c2.

56   Davies, 'Two Aesops', p. 270.

57   Books I–IV and the fables of Avianus begin in both versions with a list of fables.

	Rousset	Caxton
Life of Aesop	[...]	$a2^a$–$d6^b$
Book I, 20 fables	$e1^b$–$f4^b$	$d7^a$–$f1^b$
Book II, 20 fables	$f5^a$–$g8^a$	$f1^b$–$g5^a$
Book III, 20 fables	$g8^b$–$i5^a$	$g5^b$–$i2^a$
Book IV, 20 fables	$i5^b$–$k8^b$	$i2^b$–$k5^b$
Extravagantes	$l1^a$–n [...]	$k5^b$–$m8^b$
Fabulae novae, 17	n [...]–$o7^a$	$n1^a$–$o2^a$
Fables of Avianus, 27	$o7^b$–$q4^b$	$o2^a$–$p8^a$
Fables of Alphonsus, 13	$q4^b$–$r5^b$-[...]?	$p8^b$–$r5^b$
Poggio's seven facetiae	[...]?–$s8^b$ or $s10^b$	$r6^a$–$s4^b$
Rousset's colophon	$s8^b$ or $s10^b$	–
Caxton's additions:		
Poggio's four facetiae		$s5^a$–$s6^a$
Two anecdotes		$s6^a$–$s6^b$
Caxton's colophon		$s6^b$

From the above it can be seen that Rousset needed more space than Caxton for setting out the text: by the end of Book IV Caxton had used three fewer leaves than Rousset, and by the end of the fables of Avianus the difference is four leaves on a total of 120. The Proyart fragment breaks off in the middle of the fables of Alphonsus, after 19 pages of a section for which Caxton used 27 pages in all. We know that Rousset included Poggio's seven facetiae, because the seventh is present on the final loose leaf in the Proyart fragment. In Caxton's book the seven facetiae occupy 14 pages. Therefore, there is the equivalent of about 20 pages (or 10 leaves) of Caxton's book missing at the end of the Proyart fragment. They would account precisely for the missing leaves r6–8 and s1–7 if we would allow Rousset to squeeze his text slightly towards the end of the book. If we don't, and we also calculate the space for his colophon, we may reckon the final quire of his book to have consisted of 10 leaves instead of eight.[58]

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58   Since the fifth leaf of Rousset's quire r is not signed, this quire must be assumed to have consisted of the standard eight leaves.

Caxton Translating Poggio from a Latin Version

From the above it will be clear that a French version of Poggio's four facetiae which Caxton might have reprinted from Jehan Rousset is *not* present in the Proyart fragment. The book ends with the seventh of the original collection, of the cockerel and the fox, which offers us the precise text from which Caxton derived his English version of Poggio's story. Facetia 79, with the title 'De gallo et vulpe', is one of only two facetiae in Poggio's entire collection in which the *dramatis personae* are animals.[59] The story is wittily told, and would be suitable for entertaining a young grandchild: a cockerel, seeing a fox approaching, flees with his hens high up into a tree. The fox tries to persuade him to come down, claiming that he brings good tidings: a universal decree of peace between all animals has been declared by the Council of all beasts. There is nothing to fear: come down. The cock thanks the fox graciously, and then, stretching his neck and rising on his feet, announces from his vantage point that he sees two dogs approaching fast, their mouths wide open, surely to bring the good news which the fox had just announced—whereupon the fox, trembling with fear, runs off, shouting as he retreats that he is not sure that the dogs are already aware of the decree.

Comparison of the three sources shows that Caxton indeed translated with a certain amount of freedom and pleasure in retelling the story, as had Julien Macho before him when he interpreted the Latin.

Textual variations between the French and English versions are highlighted.

	Latin (Poggio/Steinhöwel)	Macho/Rousset	Caxton
1	Dolum illudi dolo phas est. De hoc audi fabulam.	[t]Out le salaire des mocqueurs cest que destre mocque comme Il appert par ceste presente fable	Alle the sallary or payment of them that mokken other is for to be mocqued at the last / as hit appiereth by this present Fable

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59 The only other facetia with a speaking animal, No. 163, 'De vulpe in palea abscondita quae fugabatur a canibus', is a dialogue between a farmer and a fox.

(cont.)

	Latin (Poggio/Steinhöwel)	Macho/Rousset	Caxton
2	Esuriens quondam vulpes	dung coq qui Jadis perchut venir vng regnard tout affame	of a Cock whiche somtyme sawe a foxe comynge toward hym sore hongry and famysshed
3	gallo duce arborem excelsiorem … ascenderunt	… le coq fist Joucher et monter toutes ses gellines dessus vng grant arbre	… maade al his hennes to flee vpon a tree/
4	… quem comiter salutasset	… et puis salua le cocq bien fort et bien auctentiquement	And after he salewed the cok ryght reuerently /
5	… non audistis noua hec recentia tam salutaria nobis	As tu point ouy les bonnes nouuelles dignes de estre recensees et moult salutaires pour nous	hast not thow herd the good tydynges worthy and prouffitable for vs
6	… atqui praenuntia	Je te prie que tu nous les dies	I praye the / telle and reherce them
7	… nulli ab altero insidie aut iniurie fieri queant/	… vous poues aller venir et communiquer … sans ce quilz vous osassent faire point de domage ne nul mal	… ye may goo and come / talke ꝛ communyque … withoute ony harme or dommage/
8	sed pace et concordia fruantur	Mais elles te feront toute amour et courtoisie plaisir et seruice	And they shalle doo to yow bothe pleasyr and alle seruyse to them possible
9	[this passage is not in Poggio's version]	… quil ne soit nul tel ne si hardi qui doye nuyre a aultruy tant petite beste que se soit	… that none be so hardy to vexe ne lette in no wyse ony other / be it neuer soo lytyll a beest /

	Latin (Poggio/Steinhöwel)	Macho/Rousset	Caxton
10	Descende igitur & hunc festum agamus diem.	Je te prie que tu descendes et que nous allons chanter te deum laudamus de Joie	I pray the/ that thow wylt come doune/ to thende / that we may goo and synge/ Te deum laudamus/ for Joye/
11	Nota vulpis fallacia gallus	... les falaces du regnard	The fallaces or falshede of the foxe
12	... & mihi gratum	... plus de cent mille fois Je te remercie	... more than C tymes I shalle thanke the
13	Tu quidnam aspicis vulpes cum dixisset	Et le regnard luy demanda Hau compere que regardes tu qui tu estiens si fort le col	And the foxe sayd to hym/ What godsep/ where aboute lokest thow /
14	valete inquit/ mihi fuga expedit	Adieu mon conpere et mon amy Il est temps que Je men voise	God be with yow my frend/ It is tyme that I departe fro hens
15	... et simul cepit abire. hic gallus quo nam fugis?	... commenca a cheminer et a courir et adoncques le cocq luy demanda Compere pour quoy fuis tu	... toke his waye/ & ranne as fast as he myght / And thenne the cock demaunded and cryed after hym /godsep/ why rennest thow thus
16	inquit vulpes	Haa dya compere se luy va dire le regnard	Ha a godsep sayd the Foxe from ferre

The variants between Caxton and his model show that he abbreviated at least as often as he expanded the text. Nos. 3, 4 5, 7, 8, 12, and 14 of the extracts above shorten the French text in Caxton's translation. He indulged in a few doublets: nos. 1, 6, 7, and 11. But the word 'fallacy' in no. 11, for example, which originated in the Latin text, could do with a gloss, as can 'sallary' (no. 1) and 'communyque' (no. 7), both of which came straight out of the French, and perhaps also 'famysshed' (no. 2) for 'affame'. They are all words which later he would call 'over curious' in his famous prologue to the *Eneydos*: '... some gentylmen which late blamed me sayeng that in my translacyons I had ouer

curyous termes whiche coude not be vnderstande of comyn peple …'.[60] Several extensions improve the telling; in no. 1, 'at the last' announces the moral: in the end the deceiver is deceived by his own ruse. Recurrent and therefore typical are Caxton's small improvements that indicate movement and direction: the fox comes 'towards' the cockerel (no. 2), 'ran as fast as he might' (no. 15), the cock cries 'after him' (no. 15), and the fox answers when he has already covered some distance, 'from ferre' (no. 16).

A few more tests of Rousset's version of the Aesopian fables against Caxton's confirm the finding of Davies on the basis of the Quaritch-fragment: the English translations stay very close to the French—Caxton appears to have been half asleep on the job, unless he left some of this work to someone else. Occasionally he became alert. In the Extravagantes fable no. 7, 'Of a fyssher',[61] Rousset's version 'Dung pescheurs' leaves out a word: '… ceste fable dung pescheur qui Jadis toucha sa musecte au pres de la ⟨ ⟩ pour faire danser les poissons'. A couple of lines further down it is clear that the word 'mer' had been omitted: '… il jeta son fille dedans la mer … et quant Il eur tire son fille hors de la mer …'. Caxton supplied the missing word with 'Ryuer' and then continued with '… cast his nettes in to the Ryuer', but ends neutrally: … 'had drawe oute his nettes oute of the water'. It made not the slightest difference in the unlikely story. The five fables I tested all show the pattern noted by other commentators: there are doublets (as a concentration in the musical fisherman's fable '… whanne I pyped and played of my muse or bagpype ye dayned ne wolde not daunse …'). But I did not note significant departures from the French texts.

The translation of the four facetiae which Caxton added to the Steinhöwel compilation is more interesting, and it obviously offered Caxton much amusement. As an example I take the 78th facetia in the Poggio canon, the story of the two wives in Rome who together visited a member of the Curia, 'for a reward and for pleasure'. Their reward on this occasion was a length of linen cloth. The ladies failed to agree on how to divide it, since the services rendered had not been equal, and they came to blows. Neighbours and passers-by got involved, each husband felt obliged to support his own wife, and a street fight developed, which ended with both husbands thrown into jail, still ignorant of the cause of their wives' fight. Meanwhile, the two ladies continued negotiating in secret.

60   *The Boke of Eneydos*, A1 recto. Duff 404, BMC XI, pp. 174–175.

61   Rousset o1ᵃ, Caxton n4ᵇ–5ᵃ.

Here is the story in full, in Latin and in Caxton's translation. For the Latin version I have taken the text as printed c. 1478 and c. 1480 in Lyon by Nicolaus Philippi and Marcus Reinhart, since, as noted above, Caxton repeatedly used books printed in Lyon as a basis for his translations.[62] Contractions and abbreviations are expanded in the Latin text.

	Poggio	Caxton
	Contentio duarum meretricum de tela linea lxxviij.	No title
1	Dve romane mulieres (quas novi) diversa etate et forma/ iuerunt domum curialis cuiusdam e nostris voluptatis ac premii causa.	Pogius reherceth that there were two wymmen in Rome/ whiche he knewe of dyuerse age and forme/ which came to a Curteyzan by cause to haue and wynne som what wyth theyr bodyes/
2	Is cum pulchriorem bis cognouisset; alteram semel tantum attigit; tum ne se spretam putaret/ tum vt iterum rediret cum socia/	Whome he receyued and happed that he knewe the fayrest of both twyes/ and that other ones/and soo departed/
3	abeuntibus telam lineam dono dedit/	And afterward whanne they shold departe/ he gaf to them a pyece of lynnen clothe/
4	non discernens quanta esset futura cuiusque porcio.	not deternynge how moche eche of them sholde haue to her parte and porcion/
5	In diuisione clanculo contentio orta est inter feminas. altera duas partes secundum opus exactum/ altera mediocris secundum personas postulante	And in the partynge of the sayd clothe fylle bitwene the wymmen a stryf by cause one of them demaunded two partes after thexygence of her werke/And that other the half after theyre persones/
6	diverse vtrinque varieque rationes afferebant.	eche of them shewynge dyuersly theyr resons/

62   ISTC ip00862000, GW M34564, London BL, IA. 41555 (not in BMC VIII), and ISTC ip00864300, GW M3456310, London BL, IA. 41578, BMC VIII, p. 243. There is not a great deal of significant textual variation between the Latin versions in printed editions; see the essay on the transmission of the *Facetiae* in print in the present volume, pp. 168–200.

(cont.)

	Poggio	Caxton
7	cum vna maiorem se laborem perpessam esse/	that one sayeng that she hadde suffred hym twyes to doo his pleasyr/
8	reliqua parem fuisse contenderet;	And that other pretended/ that she was redy and in her was no defawte
9	ex verbis ad verbera deuenerunt. ac vnguium capillorumque certamen.	And soo fro wordes they came to strokes and cratchyng with naylys/ and drawynge theyr here/
10	primo vicini/ inde etiam mariti concurrunt/ discidii causam ignorantes. vtraque sibi verborum contumeliam illatam asserente.	in so much that theyr neyghbours came to this batayll for to departe them/ and also their owne and propre husbondes/ not knowynge the cause of theyr stryf and debate
11	viris sue cuiusque vxoris causam tuentibus/ mulierum pugna ad viros descendit/ vectibus et lapidibus acta res est/ donec concurrentium interventus prelium diremit.	/ eche of them defendynge his wyues cause/ And fro the fyghtynge of the wymmen hit aroos and came to theyr husbondes with buffettis and castynge of stones/ soo longe that men ranne bytwene them/
12	Viri dissensionis causam ignorantes/ inimicitiam seruant reclusi in caueis more romano.	And after the customme of Rome bothe the husbondes were brought to pryson berynge enemyte eche to other/ & knewe no thynge the cause wherfore/
13	pannus est apud quendam ob rem indiscussam nondum divisus. sed occulte a mulieribus de diuidendo agitur.	The sayd cloth is sette in the handes of the wymen secretely yet not departed/ but is secretely argued amonge the wymmen in what wyse this mater shal be deuyded/
14	queritur a doctoribus quid sit iuris.	And I demaunde of doctours what the lawe is of it

Caxton retells the story with relish. He abbreviated its beginning, but he is less delicate than Poggio in explaining the cause of the dispute. He expands the text

when describing the fight in very lively terms. Caxton, for once, was obviously enjoying himself when retelling the story in translation.[63]

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[63] This essay was originally written for a collection of essays in honour of A.S.G. Edwards, *The Makers and Users of Medieval Books*, edited by Carol Meale and Derek Pearson (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 89–104. It has benefited from their editing. Notably, they pointed out that Caxton's use of the word 'Curteyzan' is his translation of Poggio's 'curialis cuiusdam', i.e. someone connected to the curia, in this case the papal court. Since Caxton did not translate Poggio's title 'Contentio duarum meretricum', 'the fight between two harlots', it is easy to arrive at the wrong conclusion about the word 'Curteyzan'.

The Travels of Marco Polo and Gheraert Leeu

In 1956 a letter was brought to light in the Spanish State archives in Simancas that had been addressed in the winter of 1497/1498 to the 'Almirante Mayor'; at that time, this great admiral could be no other than Christopher Columbus. Its contents were highly interesting: Apparently Columbus had been seeking information on the North Atlantic crossing from Bristol by John Cabot—had he reached Cathay? The letter answering Columbus's questions is written by a certain John Day, an Englishman, while he was in Andalusia. In Spanish he provides many navigational details and a sketched map of Cabot's landfall and exploration in the summer of 1497 of what we now know is the eastern coast of Newfoundland.[1] But what interests us here is its opening paragraph, in which John Day informs the admiral that he is sending him a book of the Travels of Marco Polo, in response to his request. The book Columbus received from Day can be identified as the copy of the Travels which is still in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville; it is the only Latin version of Marco Polo's travels printed before 1497, and the Colombina copy includes marginal notes written by Columbus himself. It was published in 1483/1484 in Gouda, Holland, by the printer Gheraert Leeu.[2]

In an article in which she unravelled the identity of Columbus's English correspondent, who turned out to be a black sheep in a distinguished family of London mercers and who was operating in Bristol with the name John Day as an alias, Alwyn A. Ruddock declared herself perplexed 'by the strange paradox of

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1 The original Spanish text in: L.A. Vigneras, 'New Light on the 1497 Cabot Voyage to America', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 36 (1956), pp. 503–509. The same author published a translation into English in: 'The Cape Breton Landfall: 1494 or 1497. Note on a Letter from John Day', *The Canadian Historical Review*, 38 (1957), pp. 219–228. A more fluent translation in: S.E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600* (New York, 1971), pp. 106–109. Morison (who acknowledged the translation as the joint work of James M. Byrne and Mauricio Obregón) observed that 'Having visited England about the time John Cabot returned from his first voyage, Day was a natural person from whom Columbus could seek information about a voyage which might impinge on his privileges and on the Spanish part of the New World'.

2 Marco Polo de Venetijs, *De consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum* [Gouda, Gheraert Leeu, between 1483 and 11 June 1484]. 4°. ISTC ip00902000, GW M34796, ILC 1790, BMC IX, p. 37.

an English merchant supplying a Spanish admiral with a copy of the *Travels* of the Venetian voyager at that date'.[3] The trajectory of the version of Marco Polo's story before it reached Columbus is extraordinary, if no longer perplexing. In this study I propose to follow it from Bologna to Padua and Venice, from there to Gouda, and hence to England. The Bristol import trade in wine and olive oil accounts for the subsequent connection with Andalusia.

Marco Polo travelled in the final quarter of the thirteenth century. The tradition of his story spans seven centuries and is transmitted in many languages, in manuscript and later in print.[4] Out of the long and complex chain of transmission, the present study first focuses on one single segment, the transition from a manuscript of the Latin version of Francesco Pipino to its first edition in print, in which the text got even wider dissemination than it had before that time. This part of the story's journey begins with a manuscript of Pipino's version written in Bologna in 1465. The development of trade connections by its enterprising printer provides a context to the apparent displacement of a text from the Veneto to a small town in Holland, and the subsequent distribution of the printed book in many directions, including England. The investigation ends with the printed book being read by Columbus, the text slightly modified while in transit.

Throughout its long life Marco Polo's story has met with various kinds of disbelief about the wonders of central Asia and the Far East it revealed, and even doubt over whether any veracity at all should be attached to what the young Venetian merchant reported on the court of Kublai Khan, whose protégé he claimed to have become. Many versions of the story relate that after returning from his travels and while a prisoner of war in Genoa, Marco Polo dictated his experiences to Rusticello of Pisa, an author of popular romances, who wrote them down in French. If this is true (and probably even if it is not), there are right at the beginning of the Marco Polo tradition two elements that were destined to persist, and to play a part in the particular moment of transition that

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3   A.A. Ruddock, 'John Day of Bristol and the English Voyages across the Atlantic before 1497', *The Geographical Journal*, 132 (1966), pp. 225–233. John Day's real name was Hugh Say; as John Day he operated as a merchant and shipowner in the Anglo-Iberian trade from Bristol.

4   [4] L.F. Benedetto, *Marco Polo: Il Milione: Prima edizione integrale* (Florence, 1928). In his prelims Benedetto included a list of manuscript sources. Id., *La tradizione manoscritta del 'Milione' di Marco Polo* (Toronto, 1962). An updated list (143 manuscripts in all) was published by A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World* (London, 1938). They list 61 manuscripts of Pipino's version, including eight which are translations from the Latin into vernacular languages.

will be scrutinised here: the first instance of the transmission of Marco Polo, late in the thirteenth century, was in a vernacular language and it was oral; the initial source for the textual transmission in manuscript remains unknown. The tradition that followed knows many branches, but they have in common an enduring ambiguity regarding the genre of the text—is this a factual, informative report on hitherto unknown civilisations, and a reliable description of the routes the author had taken, or rather the adventurous, at times picaresque traveller's tale narrated by a boastful young hero?

'Adventure and romance' tended to dominate in the many retellings of the tale in vernacular languages. When early in the fourteenth century, still during Marco Polo's lifetime, a Latin translation of a Venetian version appeared, written by the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino, it was carefully structured and abbreviated, and oriented towards a factual account, the report of Kublai Khan's interest in Christianity perhaps being a particular motivation. Pipino divided the material into three books consisting of many short chapters, which were listed at the beginning of each book. The material was in this way made manageable as a form of practical information. Although it was now a 'learned' text, destined to be read by erudite readers, the many diverging versions show that over the centuries the transmission of the Latin translation was almost as unstable as that of the vernacular versions. The Latin language functioned here as a living language, used fluently as a vehicle for contemporary communication when telling a story which even in Pipino's redacted version remained full of adventure and almost incredible facts. Flexibility was in this case not programmatic, as it was with Poggio's *Facetiae*, discussed elsewhere in this collection of studies. What we observe in the transmission of the text is an evolutionary process, introducing 'mutations' when adapting to new environments; in textual discipline such mutations are termed 'variants'. Despite the mutability of some of the elemental forms, in this process the text—and the story—retain their identity.

The point of departure for my study was an observation by Dr Consuelo Dutschke, which she very generously communicated to me. Dr Dutschke studied the manuscripts and early printed editions of Francesco Pipino's translation, known by the so accurately worded Latin title *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum*.[5] This version of the story of Marco Polo's

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5   Consuelo W. Dutschke, *Francesco Pipino and the manuscripts of Marco Polo's Travels* [doctoral thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1993]. I am very grateful to Dr Dutschke for discussions and for generously providing copies of parts of her thesis. A text edition of Pipino's Latin version based on an early manuscript now in Naples BN (formerly Olomouc

travels and his time at the court of Kublai Khan was most widely disseminated, over many years, resulting in many sub-categories revealing interrelation and dependence. Having noticed one unusual variant in the first words of Leeu's edition ('fidelissimi' instead of 'fidelis' in 'Librum prudentis honorabilis & fidelissimi viri …'), Dr Dutschke tested seven other readings on the manuscripts of the translation available to her and found that only one agreed with all seven readings. This is a manuscript now in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. X. 73 (3445). Her observation narrows the field for anyone interested in establishing what sources Leeu may have used for his printed edition. Two other manuscripts with at least several of these readings are in their turn dependent on the Leeu edition. They include a manuscript written for Raphael de Marcatellis,[6] which was certainly copied from Leeu's edition; de Marcatellis, a prominent prelate in Ghent who was a natural son of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, was a bibliophile who commissioned the copying of printed books, which resulted in large, precious manuscripts. Dr Dutschke assumes that a manuscript now in the Escorial (Q. II.12) was also copied from the printed book.

The manuscript in the Marciana was written in 1465 for Giovanni Marcanova, a physician who was born in Padua and had been educated there; he taught and practised medicine in Bologna until his death in 1467. He assembled an extensive library of some 500 volumes, which he bequeathed to the Augustinian canons Regular of San Giovanni in Verdara in Padua.[7] The Marco Polo manuscript is part of a compilation and consists of 76 leaves; it is written on paper in a regular cursive hand by a professional scribe who in the colophon identifies himself as 'B'. Although the manuscript is modest it begins with an elaborate initial painted in blue, pink, and yellow, and the coat of arms of Marcanova is painted at the bottom of the first page. Secondary, smaller initials are executed in plain red and blue with pen work. On fol. 76 v° one of the canons in Padua has written: 'Hunc librum donavit eximius artium et medicine doctor

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and Vienna), and with apparatus criticus that includes some of the readings in Leeu's edition in: J.V. Prášek, *Milion, Dle jediného rokopisu spolu s příslušnym základem Latinským* (Prague, 1902).

6   Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 13. See Albert Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis, Abbot of St Bavon's, Ghent, 1437–1508* (Ghent, 1979), No. 54. The Marco Polo text is part of a compilation, including the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, and the descriptions of travels by Johannes de Hese, Marco Polo, and Ludolphus de Suchen, the last two copied from Gheraert Leeu's editions.

7   Lino Sighinolfi, 'La Biblioteca di Giovanni Marcanova', in L. Bertalot etc. (eds.), *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki sexagenario obtulerunt* (Florence, 1921), pp. 187–222.

FIG. 11.1   *The first page of the Marcanova manuscript with the first owner's coat of arms. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms lat. X 73 (3445), fol. 1ʳ.*

magister Ioannes marchanova de venetijs Congregationi Canonicorum regularium Sancti Augustini. Ita ut tamen sit ad usum dictorum canonicorum in monasterio Sancti Ioannis in viridario Padue commorantium. Quare omnes pro eo pie orent. MCCCCLXVII'.[8] After the monastery was suppressed in 1782 by order of the Venetian Senate, the Marcanova books were divided in 1784 between the University of Padua and the Marciana, with the latter receiving the rare printed books and manuscripts. As Dr Dutschke concludes, there is no doubt that between 1467 and 1784 Marcanova's Marco Polo manuscript was in Padua.

How, then, to assess the possible textual relationship of two documents so far apart geographically—the manuscript in Padua, and the book printed far to the north, in Gouda, in 1483/1484, some 16 or 17 years after the manuscript came to be owned by the canons? Unlikely as it was in any case, the absence of any sign of marking up of the manuscript, counting of lines, pages or quires, or other marks we recognise as traces left in the production of a printed book, confirms that the manuscript was never in Gheraert Leeu's printing house, nor was it under the eyes of compositors anywhere. Yet there are particular circumstances in Gheraert Leeu's career that may explain how his book became the improbable offspring of the Marcanova manuscript.

Gheraert Leeu's career as printer started in 1477 in the town of Gouda in western Holland;[9] he began with printing books in the vernacular, in Dutch. The most substantial are his two editions of the *Golden Legend* in Dutch (in 1478 and 1480), but his production of smaller works was steady and prolific. In 1480 he extended his range by starting to seriously print in Latin, although his only fount of type at that time was closely related to the script commonly used for texts in Dutch, and was more appropriate for the vernacular. The transition to Latin, however, is the first sign that Leeu had his eye on a market wider than that of readers of Dutch. As soon as he began to produce books in Latin, surviving copies show a wide range of early owners—in the Low Countries, especially in the southeastern parts, in Westphalia, in the Rhineland, some even in France, and most strikingly, in England. There can be no doubt that from 1480 Gheraert Leeu established a trade connection with booksellers in England. We shall see that this is relevant for the copy of his Marco Polo edition that was eventually owned by Columbus.[10]

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8   Contractions expanded.

9   For Gheraert Leeu's activity in Gouda and the purchase of type in Venice, see HPT, vol. I, pp. 36–38. Lists of his editions in ILC, pp. 493–495 (Gouda, 1477–1484), pp. 455–460 (Antwerp, 1484–1493).

10   At least a dozen copies of books in Latin printed by Gheraert Leeu in Gouda survive in

After September 1482 there is a gap in Leeu's productivity. When it was resumed late in 1483 the appearance of his books had changed: the 'vernacular' fount of type was seen no more, and instead he had acquired for printing in Latin (and occasionally in Dutch) two founts of type which are closely related to founts produced in Venice, and which were entirely in the taste of the world of learning, far beyond Gouda.[11] Shortly after, in 1484, Leeu moved his business to Antwerp, a forerunner of the great printing houses that were to be established in this centre of trade until late in the sixteenth century. There are some documents in the Antwerp city archives that show that Leeu continued to make contacts in Bruges, Louvain, and at the fairs held at Bergen op Zoom, and that he shipped books destined for Lübeck via Amsterdam.[12] In this pattern of development from catering for a local market to the ambition of meeting the tastes of an international readership of Latin, the acquisition of two founts of high-quality type from Venice fits very well. The two types are in the 'rotunda' style, specifically also called 'venetica', which was developed by the early printers in Venice, who made it familiar through their large-scale exports to the whole world of learning, to readers of works of theology, law, sciences, and other erudite works, in deliberate contrast with the new 'roman' founts, used for literary texts, including the classics. Leeu

English collections with marks of early English ownership. One or two of Leeu's books printed in Gouda are included in the list of books imported by the Oxford Stationarius Thomas Hunt in 1483. See P. Needham, 'Continental Printed Books Sold in Oxford, c. 1480–1483: Two Trade Records', in M. Davies (ed.), *Incunabula* (see p. 18, n. 21), pp. 243–270, p. 255, no. 29, p. 258, no. 49. In later years in Antwerp Leeu published several books in English, most famously a reprint of Caxton's translation of the *History of Jason* and of his *Chronicles of England* (Duff 246, 100).

11   Leeu Type 3: 64G and Type 5: 82G. See HPT vol. I, pp. 37–38 and vol. II, Plates 148–151, where the connection with Reynaldus de Novimagio is discussed and illustrated. For De Novimagio see also BMC V, pp. xix, 252–258. In a lecture, to date unpublished, Dr Chris Coppens, with reference to Pierre Deschamps, *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1870), noted that 'De Novimagio' may also refer to the town of Speyer (or Spira). This might well connect Reynaldus to the family of Johannes and Wendelin de Spira, the early printers in Venice, rather than to the town of Nijmegen.

12   For transactions at Bergen op Zoom, see C. Slootmans, 'De Bergen op Zoomsche jaarmarkten en de bezoekers uit Zuid-Nederland', *St Geertruidsbronnen*, 11 (1934), and Ibid. *12* (1935). Antwerpen, Stadsarchief, Certificatieboek 1488–1494, fol. 16ᵛ, records a transaction of 'gherardus leeu, printer ende boucvercoper' concerning two chests and one basket of books; on 45ᵛ is the record of a transaction of Leeu, in partnership with one Willem Conincxloe, with the skipper Ghijsbrecht Gherbrants, who had loaded two caskets of books destined for Amsterdam and Lübeck.

obtained his two founts from Reynaldus de Novimagio, who was established in Venice as a printer, as well as a punchcutter and typefounder. De Novimagio had used the larger of Leeu's two founts himself, and he also sold it to Matthaeus Cerdonis in Padua; He also used a fount very similar to the smaller of Leeu's two founts. Leeu arranged for a few adaptations of the larger fount for use in his own country, including the provision of a character 'w', indispensable in Dutch and used in Latin for the combination 'vu', seen, for example, in the word 'vulgari' in the first sentence of his Marco Polo edition (see Fig. 11.2).

The gap in Leeu's steady productivity between the autumn of 1482 and late 1483 suggests an absence, at the end of which the two Venetian founts appeared for the first time. There is a further indication that this involved travel to Venice, although no archival documentation is known to support this. Among his earliest publications in the new founts are three related tales by the famous travellers Marco Polo, Ludolphus de Suchen, and Jean Mandeville, a combination dubbed by Henry Bradshaw as 'the Gouda triplet'.[13] It began with the Marco Polo text, marked as the beginning of the set by a 10-line space for an initial, followed by Ludolphus de Suchen's *Iter ad Terram Sanctam*, which is indeed a practical guide, and concludes with Mandeville's *Itinerarium*, generally recognised as having to be taken with a large pinch of salt. The set ends with a punning colophon: '[…] Quod opus vbi inceptu*m* simul et co*m*pletu*m* sit ip*s*a elementa seu singularu*m* seorsu*m* caractere*s* li*te*rarum. quibus impressu*m* vides venetica / monstrant manifeste'—which can be translated as 'Where this work was begun and completed: the single letters you see with which it was printed show clearly that they are Venetian', or, less literally: 'When you look at the printing type you see that this is a Venetian book'. Although this little riddle truthfully does not declare that this book was printed in Venice, it still sounds like an elegant boast, coming at the end of a neat set of quartos, fit for a market of erudite readers.

Leeu's source for the Mandeville text remains unknown; for Ludophus de Suchen, *Iter ad Terram Sanctam*, he used a book printed between 1475 and

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13   ISTC ip00902000, il00364000, im00160000. Henry Bradshaw named the three books 'the Gouda triplet' in a note made in haste on a visit to Trinity College, Dublin, in late 1869 when he briefly saw a volume including several Leeu editions (Bradshaw, Notebook XVII, Cambridge UL, Add MS 4561, fol. 62ᵛ). The bibliographical ascription of these editions, which all lacked dates and the name of printer and place of printing, had given rise to many theories, solved by Bradshaw. See the Appendix 'The Arrangement of the Types of Gheraert Leeu by Holtrop and Bradshaw', in Wytze and Lotte Hellinga (eds.), *Henry Bradshaw's Correspondence*, vol. II: *Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 479–491.

FIG. 11.2   *Gheraert Leeu's printed edition of* Marco Polo *in his Venetian type. Cambridge University Library, Oates 3409, fol. a1ᵃ.*

1480 in Strasbourg by Heinrich Eggestein.[14] The first question we shall consider here is whether a textual comparison of the manuscript in Padua and Leeu's edition allows one to posit direct derivation: Is the Marcanova manuscript, notwithstanding the fact that it was owned by a monastery in Padua, the ancestor of Leeu's edition? Does textual evidence allow such a possibility? If so, we would have to hypothesise that Leeu copied the manuscript while he was on his travels to Venice, and therefore in the near vicinity of Padua, or that it was copied for him.

Comparison of the printed book (from here on 'L') with the Marcanova manuscript (from here on 'M') confirms that they are indeed closely related. There is no major textual deviation between the two, such as a different order of chapters and omissions or additions of sections of text. Structurally the two sources match precisely—the three books are divided into numbered and titled chapters, and each book is preceded by a table of its chapters. The seven readings checked by Dr Dutschke were all in chapter headings, incipits, and explicits of books, and her findings were fully confirmed by more extensive samples collating sections of text.

The collation of 20 pages of the printed book chosen at random shows six variants which may indicate direct derivation. Throughout the collated text, however, numerous small variants occur, particularly in word order and the spelling of names, and some variations which just may be misreadings of the sometimes rather hasty hand of M, or possibly the hand of the (assumed) intermediate copy, which may have been even hastier. There are differences in punctuation and use of capitals, and there are also some substantive variants which may be emendations, usually to be understood in context.

The six variants indicating direct derivation are therefore of particular significance. If the case for direct derivation is accepted, the numerous minor variants may be interpreted as non-contradictory to direct derivation, but indicative of what may happen to a text in transition, first copied in manuscript and subsequently by the compositors in the printing house. The six variants indicating direct derivation are as follows:

1. Prologus. On the verso of the first leaf of the manuscript, a stain is caused by paint used for the initial on the recto seeping through the paper. A few words of text have become difficult to read, and the copyist seems to have improvised to fill the lacuna:

M: 1ᵇ	defferant [… spu? …] dño ad obcecatas infidelium naciones
L: a1ᵇ, ll. 9/10	de‖ferāt fauente diuino auxilio ad obcecatas īfideliū nacōnes

2. Book III, cap. 16. A word in M was illegible to me, and apparently also to the scribe of the intermediate copy. It was simply omitted, but with inversion of word order.

M: 59ᵇ, l. 14	et ꝑ̇ modicū [… hmn ? …] rursū incipit
L: h5ᵃ, l. 22	et post modicū rursū humor fluere incipit

In the following three examples the copyist, hesitating between two readings of a word, apparently offered two conjectured readings to choose from, indicated by 'seu' or 'vel'. The glosses were absorbed in the printed text. Both readings were contextually acceptable.

3. Book III, cap. 3. The word 'anarrantibus' was difficult to read:

M: 56ᵃ, ll. 16/17	Magnus Kaan Cublay audiens anarrantibus
L: h2ᵃ, l. 3	[M]Agn⁹ kaā Cublay audiens a marcatoribus seu nar ‖ rātib⁹

4. Book I, cap. 58. The form 'hūerit' is the contracted form for 'habuerit', the form found in Prášek's edition of the Latin text. The indicativus praesens is more correct in the context, and 'habet' is an emendation.

M: 57ᵃ, ll. 22/23	Illud āt idolum ꝙ plures manus hūerit amplioris
L: h3ᵃ, ll. 9/10	Illud āt ydolū qđ plures man⁹ habet vł habừit āplioris
	putant ēē virtutis
	esse v̇tutis crediṫ

The change in word order in this example, as well as the variant 'putant/cred-itur', is encountered many more times. Interestingly, Prášek's version has here 'putantur'. There is a slight shift in meaning: from personal 'putant' to impersonal, un-ascribed 'creditur' (or 'putantur'), which in later periods would certainly be rated as a substantive variant. It may be considered as part of the retelling of the story, assuming a slightly more formal tone.

Similar variants, which in the fifteenth century would probably not have been considered as changing the substance of the text, are found elsewhere, e.g. 'quē vocant/qui vōtur' in:

M: 20 ᵇ, l. 13   Tartari   ꝑ dño colunt unū quē vocant nacygay
L: c5ᵃ, l. 27   [T]Artari ꝑ deo colunt vnū qui vōtur   Nacygoy

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5. Book II, cap. 63. In the description of the city of Synguy, mention is made of the stone bridges, so high that a galley, sometimes even two galleys, could easily pass through them. The context begins in L, g4ᵃ, l. 28: 'In hac ciuitate sūt pōtes lapidei ccvi milia tāte altitudinis ꝙ sᵬ vnoquoque iꝑoꝗ', continuing:

M: 50ᵃ   galea libere   transire   ualeat. atꝫ sub multis pontiuꝫ
L: g4ᵃ, ll. 29/30 galea libeꝛ || re transire posset vel valeat atꝫ sᵬ   multis pōciū

               ꝑdictorū   siłr   due possīt transire galee
               ꝑdcōrum || simul possint due trāsire galee.

The gloss may be here not so much a matter of difficulty in reading, but offering a choice suggesting the more logical 'posset' instead of 'valeat', which is less expected here. The abbreviated form 'siłr', which surely has to be read as 'similiter', became 'simul' in print, changing the meaning.

6. Book III, cap. 3. The final example of the physical form of the manuscript as evidence for the derivation of the printed edition is a case of eye-skip from 'castrum' to 'castrum' by the copyist who copied M, or possibly the compositor who had a manuscript copied from M in front of him:

M: 56ᵃ	nā n̄ urbem aliquā l̄ castrum de//bellare ualuerl̄ n̄ unū castᵐ
L: h2ᵃ, ll. 12/13	Nā neꝗ vrbē aliquā vel castrū

	scᵐ modico p̄lio deuiter̄t.
	solū p̃lio ‖ modico deuicer̄t.

The words 'debellare voluerit neque unum castrum' were thus lost, and the abbreviation 's(e)c(undu)m' was misread as 'solum', which also gave an acceptable meaning to the shorter sentence.

Even these six examples, chosen because they may suggest the derivation of L from M, show that if this form of transition took place, the process was not straightforward. A set of examples taken from one chapter shows a variety of deviations. Book III, cap. 9, *De ydolatria et incredulitate virorum*, counts 18 lines in L (h3ᵃ, ll. 2–19, fol. 57ʳ in M). It relates hearsay about Japan, here named the island of Cyampagu (or 'Zimpagu' in the manuscript). Paraphrasing the description: In this island there are many statues of idols with the head of an ox, and some with a swine's head, or the head of a goat, or a dog, or other animals. There are also statues of idols with four faces on one head, or with three heads—one on the neck and two on the shoulders—or with many hands—four, ten, or even a hundred. Those with many hands are thought to be more powerful. When the inhabitants are asked why, they will only answer that this was what their fathers believed. When the inhabitants of Cyampagu capture a stranger they will return him on receipt of a ransom. If, however, they fail to obtain the price for his release, they kill him, cook him, and devour him, and to this feast they invite their family and friends, who are delighted to praise this meat, declaring that human meat is better than all other meats.

The following is a record of all the variants occurring in this small section:

7. Title.

M:	De Idolatria et crudelitate uirorū zimpagu
L:	De ydolatria et īcredulitate viroꝝ

'Incredulitas', as in L, seems contextually less appropriate than M's 'crudelitas', in this cruel story, which does not have anything to do with incredulity, although 'religious disbelief', one of the translations given in Lewis and Short's

A Latin Dictionary, might be taken to apply. It seems more probable, however, that this is a misreading or oversight in copying. The name 'Zimpagu/Cyampagu' is omitted in the title of L, but occurs again in the first sentence of the chapter.

8. L, h3ᵃ, ll. 5, 8.

M:	canis Et	aliorū animalium diuersorum
L: l. 5	canis Aut alioꝝ	aimaliū diuersoꝝ

L, ll. 8/9: Quedā aūt hn̄t q̄tuor manus

M:	alia x.	alia	centū	alia ult̾ centū
L:	alia decē	alia	vero	centū

'aut' is a slight improvement on the more neutral 'et', and the insertion of 'vero' makes for more fluent reading. The omission of 'alia ultra centum'—more than a hundred hands on one body—seems a matter of credulity overstretched. The variant in the next line, 'putant/creditur', has already been noted in example 4.

9. L, h3ᵃ, l. 12.

M:	n̄	ꝙ sic ab eorū patrib⁹ creditū
L:	nisi	ꝙ sit ab eorū patrib⁹ creditū

'sic/sit' is a misreading: 'thus believed their fathers' is the meaning expressed by 'sic'.

10. L, h3ᵃ, l. 13.

M:	hn̄t. Volunt
L:	hn̄t volūt

L does not indicate here the beginning of a new sentence through punctuation and a capital.

11. L, h3ᵃ, ll. 15/16.

M: illum dimittunt r̄cepta   pecuniā
L: illū   dimittūt   recepta pecunia

L prefers here an ablative absolute, 'the money being received', whereas M uses the accusative, leaving 'recepta' in a grammatically uncertain position.

12. L, h3ᵃ, ll. 17/18.

M: ad huius   ꝛuiuiuꝫ
L: ad huiusmodi cōuiuiū ||

The word 'huius' in M is problematic: whose feast? The victim's? The problem is evaded with 'huiusmodi', 'a feast of this sort', at the same time giving an ironic slant to the word 'convivium'. The addition of 'carnibus' (see below) clarifies the gruesome meaning.

13. L, h3ᵃ, ll. 19/20

M: humanas carnes cet̄is   ēē meliores
L: hūanas   carnes cet̄ris carnib⁹ eē meli ||ores

The variants noted in this section of text include:

contextual emendation:
'putant/creditur' and 'habet' in addition to 'habuerit' (4), the omission of 'alia ultra centum' (8), 'huius/huiusmodi' (12), the addition of 'carnibus' (13);

improving syntax:
'pecuniam/pecunia' (11);

improving fluency:
addition of 'vero' (8);

two misreadings:
'crudelitate/incredulitate' (7), 'sic/sit' (9);

one loss of punctuation and therefore loss of syntactic structure (10).
That most of these variants should be understood as contextual emendation is confirmed by the results of the collation of the other sections I have sampled. I noted a total of about 30 variants in addition to those already quoted. The number of what appear to be deliberate changes amounts to 20, including six instances of omissions of words, where M might be judged to be unnecessarily elaborate. Examples of other textual improvements and losses are:

14. Book II, cap. 40.

M: 42ᵇ, ll. 30/31	vadit ad eorū cubilia et cauerna v̇	leones ursi seu animalia
L: f4ᵃ, ll. 18/19	vadit ad eoꝛ cubilia	vbi leones ursi seu animalia
	huiuṡ habitant et comedit bestias magnas et paruas	
	huiusmo ‖di habitant et ꝉmedit magnas et pꝛuas	

15. Book I, cap. 4.
    Kublai Kahn plans to write to the pope in order to ascertain whether the Christian religion is superior to all others. Are the gods of the Tartars devils? The letter was to be translated, but from what language? The context is:
    '… fecit rex scribi lrās ad romanū pontificē […] quas illis tradidit deferēdas', the language in which the letters were written specified as:

M: 4ʳ	ī lingua tùcoꝛ
L: a4ᵃ, l. 24	in lingua tartaroꝛ

The language of the Tartars seems contextually correct here, but the main textual tradition has the language of the Turks. L seems therefore to make an independent emendation.

16. Book II, cap. 6.

M: 28ᵃ	Cublay āt		ad ciuitatē suā cambalu cū gauᵒ ē reuersus	
L: d5ᵇ, ll. 9/10	Cublay āt rex victor	ad ciuitatē suā cābalu		ē re ‖uersus

The reason for Kublai's joy is made explicit in L.

One instance shows that occasionally some careful consideration was given to the narrative and, where deemed necessary, the text was corrected. Such interventions occur only sporadically, here in a passage that may have attracted particular attention. In Book II the sensitive issue of relations between religions is discussed. A consequence of the victory of Kublai Khan over his uncle Nayam was that the Christians who had served with Nayam were now incorporated in Kublai's army, which already counted many Jews and Saracens who teased the Christians, pointing out that despite daily veneration of his cross, Jesus Christ had not helped them [win the battle]. The Cristians complained to the Khan, who then addressed them, saying that he ordered Jews and Saracens—and in version M, all others—not to offend the Christians. The passage begins in L without significant deviation from M but then continues with the substantive variants 'dominus noster/deus vester', the latter form appropriate to Kublai, as is the change from 'our lord or his cross' to 'your lord's cross or your god'. For this complicated report of Kublai's direct speech, an ample section of context may be useful.

17. Book II, cap. 6.

M and L: [Kublai] … sic ait Si de⁹ vester ꞅ ei⁹ crux noluit Nayā ferre psidiū nolite erubescere qm̄ de⁹ bonus īiusticie et iniquitati non debet prōcinari Nayā dn̄i sui ꝑditor extitit et īiusticie rebellis et

M: 28ᵃ	dn̄i nr̄i	sua malicia implorabit	Deus āt nr̄	
L: d5ᵇ, ll. 4/5	dei vr̄i in	sua malicia īploꞅ‖rabat auxilia.	deus aūt vester	

Continuing without major variation:

M and L: qui bon⁹ ē noluit ei⁹ fauere crimībus

M: pp ꝗ iudeis   et sarraceīs et ceteris omib⁹ ꝯmando vt nullus ꝓ hac re
L: ll. 6/8   ꝓpter qď iudeis omnibȝ et sarracenis mādo   Vt || nullus ꝓ hac re

       dñȝ nr̄ȝ vel crucē eius   blasfemaè ꝓsumat.
       dñi crucem vel deū vestꝝ blasphemare p̄ᷓ ||sumat

A similar instance occurs in Book I, where in L Nacygoy is correctly called a god of the Tartars, not a lord:

18. Book I, cap. 58.

M: 20ᵇ, l. 13   Tartari   ꝓ dño colunt unū quē vocant nacygay
L: c5ᵃ, l. 27   [T]Artari ꝓ deo colunt vnū qui vōtur Nacygoy

Accidental omission is infrequent. An omission of two words on (L) c5ᵃ, ll. 29/30, cf. (M) 20ᵇ, l. 17, must have been accidental, and as a result the sentence in the printed text fails to make sense. In the printed book this occurs at the line end of the next-to-last line of the page. The omission may therefore perhaps be explained as an error in marking of the printer's exemplar—that is, the assumed intermediate copy. Omitted are the words 'reverentur. Quilibeť' in a sentence that runs 'hunc falsum dominum maxime reverentur. Quilibet tartarus ...'

   Plain misreading is also rare, and it is sometimes surprisingly difficult to distinguish it from what may be textual emendation. The following variant may be due to misreading, but it is also possible to conjecture that the original form led to finding an alternative which resembled it. The word 'voluntati' is easier to understand in this context (about governance) than 'voti et consilio'.

19. Book III, cap. 3.

M: 56ᵃ   unus alterus uoti et ꝯsilio acꝗescè contemnebat/
L: h2ᵃ, ll. 10/11   vn⁹ || alterus volūtati   acquiescere ꝯtempnebat.

There are, however, also variants that are obviously mistakes in L. In the chapter *De regno samara*, the collecting of sap from trees is described:

20. Book III, cap. 16.

| M: 59ᵃ | Deinde ad pedem arboris aquam effundunt |
| L: h5ᵃ, ll. 20/21 | Deiñ ad   pe ‖des arboris aquā effundūt |

A minor point where L is evidently wrong. In this chapter L has very little punctuation compared with M, something that occasionally can also be observed elsewhere in the printed text, perhaps due to a scribe's haste or lack of care reflected in the printed version.

The most striking cluster of error occurs right at the beginning of the text, including the glaringly mistaken rendition of the translator's name as 'frater franciscus pepur]. de bononia'. The form 'pepur' is presented with a curious squared vertical line at the end which can only be understood as a form of abbreviation (see Fig. 11.2). Since the manuscript reads very clearly 'pipinus', the peculiar form of the name must have been a feature of the intermediate copy; it also serves as a diagnostic for recognising the copies made of Leeu's edition, the Marcatellis manuscript in Ghent and the manuscript in the Escorial.[15]

The cluster of variants at the beginning contrasts with long stretches of text in which I did not find substantive variants, but did find far less punctuation than in the manuscript, e.g. in Book III, cap. 16. The impression remains that the beginning is exceptionally error-prone. After this the (hypothetical) scribe in Padua seems to have calmed down, and followed M closely.

21. Prologus.

After the first lines 'Librū prudentis honorabil' ‖ ac fidelissimi viri dñi marci ‖ pauli de venecijs' the text continues:

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15   As noted by Dr Consuelo Dutschke.

M: de conditionibus orientalium regiōȝ ab eo ī uulgari   fideliter
L: de cōdiciᷓ‖ onib⁹ orientaliū   ab eo in wl ‖ gari

      editum et ɔsͨptū. Compellor ego fr̄ franciscus   pipinus
      editū et cōscriptū. Cō ‖ pellor ego frater franciscus ‖ pepur].

      de bononia ordinis fratrum p̄dicatoruȝ ...
      de bononia   frm̄ p̄diᷓ‖catorū   ...

Noting the cluster of four variants in the first sentence of the printed text, one might well be justified in deciding not to give further consideration to the question of the textual relation between M and L. Even the variant noted by Dr Dutschke which they have in common against other sources—'fidelissimi' against 'fidelis'—belongs to a formulaic convention, and is in itself not sufficient proof for direct derivation. In fact, none of the data taken by themselves can serve as absolute proof, but taken together they add up to a plausible course of events:

Leeu's contact with Venice is an immutable, given his acquisition of Venetian founts of type. An actual visit is probable, on the basis of the gap in his production for 15 months, and the telling choice of three texts on the theme of 'travel' beginning with a famous Venetian tale, reinforced by the punning colophon. A few of the features of the manuscript are discernible in the sections I collated (examples 1–6). If direct derivation is accepted, the misreading 'pepur' for the translator's name in the first sentence is clear evidence that there was an intermediate phase, as are the glosses, absent in M but incorporated in the printed text.

Noting that variants, in so far as recorded, tend to occur in clusters may bring us closer to an actual situation, a scribe producing—probably with limited time—a copy of a manuscript that was only temporarily available to him, the copy made for a single purpose: to serve as a basis for conveying the text into print. The interpretation of the punning colophon 'Quod opus ubi inceptum simul et completum sit ipsa elementa seu caracteres literarum quibus impressum vides venetica monstrant manifeste' may even be stretched further. If the manuscript was indeed copied in Padua with the intention to produce the text in print, the work was truly begun in the environs of Venice. Its printing type was an astute investment, but strictly in the context of its earliest use in the Marco Polo-text it could be shown off as a witness to the Venetian connection, celebrating the feat of bringing home from a long journey not only sophisti-

cated printing types in a modern Venetian style, but also an utterly Venetian text. In the process of copying, the tale would once again be retold, the copyist primarily guided by the written text before him but intermittently influenced by an inner voice, even if Latin would not be his first language. Such a voice, not consistently attentive, has its own notions of fluency and may at times steer the writing hand towards deviations from the text perceived by the eye; for example, the structure of sentences and word order may be influenced by usages familiar to the scribe. In the final phase of text creation, in the printing house, the interaction between exemplar and 'creator' of the copied version, in this case the compositor, is repeated. Several of the studies in this volume present unambiguous evidence of this process in those cases where textual interference can only be ascribed to the printing house—for example when printer's copy is identified by marking up in the printing house, or in reprints. Perhaps the many changes in word order are indicative of a scribe and/or a compositor whose mother tongue was different from that of the scribe of the original he copied. A speaker of a Germanic language has a sense of emphasis in the sentence and the balance between words, which differ from those of a speaker of Romance languages. This is reflected in his Latin usage, although it is a language common to them both.

If we now allow ourselves to observe—through the collation—a copyist, and at a later stage a compositor, at work, we can understand that there are some losses and mistakes in reading and copying, as well as casual emendations. Some further emendations elucidating the text (as in examples 7, 11–18) may have been added by rereading the text copied in Padua and preparing it for the press, and, as noted above, in the final phase a compositor may have caused further textual changes. In so far as the treatment of the text was deliberate, it brings to mind what the editor of another text printed by Gheraert Leeu explained to the printer. In 1490 Leeu published in Antwerp an edition of the *Historia septem sapientium Romae*, a text he had already published in Gouda, but this time in a different version, from a manuscript source with the title *Historia calumniae Novercalis*.[16] Since the original manuscript source was considered less than perfect, an anonymous editor prepared the text for the press with discreet revisions, as he explained in a prologue to the printer:

> Cum autem nominum quorundam ratio temporibus satis respondere
> visa non esset et textus orationis nimium fluxus minimeque coherens
> videretur non indignum iudicavi quo tibi morem gererem id postulanti

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16   ILC 1953, GW 12854, ISTC is00448600.

> paululum mutatis verbis obmissisque nominibus ne legentem offendant
> re ipsa integra servata hanc narrationem efferre, ne quid inventori laudis
> aut inventioni veritatis detractum esse videatur […]

'Whether the text is better for these changes, you will judge, mi Girarde', the editor concludes, after explaining that where he thought it necessary he had changed the words just a little, and had omitted some words in order not to displease the reader and to tell the tale more efficiently, without diminishing the merits of the author or the essence of the story. He had done this in the hope that the text would become more coherent than it was before. It seems very close to what happened to the Marco Polo text in the transition from the Marcanova manuscript to Leeu's printed version, and we may note in passing that, like Marco Polo dictating his story, the *Historia septem sapientium Romae* is a text associated with telling stories, in a framework rather similar to that of *Thousand-and-one-nights*.

This brings me to a further question: Is there any explanation for the fact that this successful book was not reprinted? Its success can be measured by the number of copies that still survive: ILC and ISTC record 50 copies. Only a small proportion has been examined for early ownership, but several give an indication that Leeu's book was widely sold, reflecting the trade connections he had made by that time. Not surprisingly, there are early owners on record in the Low Countries, Rooklooster, near Brussels,[17] and the Carthusians in Louvain.[18] According to the union catalogue of libraries in the Low Countries and the Rhineland compiled early in the sixteenth century and known as the *Registrum* of Rooklooster,[19] copies of the Gouda triplet were also owned by the Praemonstratensians of Averbode and the Canons Regular of Vallis Sancti Martini in Louvain. Further eastward a copy was owned by the Cistercians at Himmerod in the Eiffel.[20] 'Nicolas Perichot, fourrier de la Reine de Navarre'

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17   Now Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, A. 1792.

18   Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, A. 2112.

19   The manuscript consisting of a bibliography, annex finding list, of books owned by monastic houses in the Low Countries, known as the 'Registrum Rooklooster', is in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. s.n. 12694. The title of the Marco Polo edition is listed on 241[r], 'Marcus Venetus || De *con*dicionib*us* et *con*suetudinib*us* orientali*um* regionu*m*', followed by the first words of the text and the siglum e for 'Everbode' and siglum z for Vallis Sancti Martini (St Maartensdaal) in Louvain. The registrum can now be consulted online on a website introduced and curated by Dr Frans Hendrickx, who also provides a full list of the extensive literature on this source.

20   Paris BnF, Rés. O[2], CIBN P-554.

owned a copy of the Gouda triplet in 1537.[21] The 'Petits Augustins' in Paris noted their ownership of the three books in the seventeenth century, but this inscription suggests earlier ownership in France.[22] There are three copies on record with early owners in England: the copy in Trinity College, Dublin, is inscribed by a Thomas Kokker of Worksop, Northamptonshire;[23] the Gouda triplet now in the Bodleian Library was owned in the fifteenth/sixteenth century by a Christopher Copston, not further identified.[24] A copy in the British Library has annotations by Rychard Wyttam, dated 1583, and later became part of the Old Royal Library.[25]

The letter brought to light in the Archivo General del Reino in Simancas adds another English provenance of the fifteenth century; before he passed the book to Christopher Columbus, the merchant operating under the alias John Day, whose real name was Hugh Say, owned the book.[26] His letter to Columbus was in response to a request for information about the explorations of John Cabot. John Day was in a position to give a reliable account, for he was in Bristol when Cabot returned there in August 1497 from his crossing of the Atlantic. The admiral had also asked for two books, one of which Day could not find, but the other was the Marco Polo, which he had brought back from England and which he enclosed, as he writes in the opening paragraph of the letter: 'El otro de Marco Paulo … lo enbio'. In the translation published by S.E. Morison the passage runs:

> I do not find the book *Invincio Fortunati*; I thought I had brought it with my effects, and am greatly annoyed that I cannot find it, because I sought very much to serve you. The other [book] by Marco Polo, and the copy of the tierra [i.e. map] which has been found I send you.[27]

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21   Denise Hillard, *Bibliothèque Mazarine* [Catalogues régionnaux des incunables des biblio-thèques publiques de France VI] (Paris, 1987) no. 1677.

22   Inscription: 'Ex Bibliotheca Fratrum Augustiniensium reformatorum conventus reginae Margaritae' in a copy of the Gouda triplet in the library of the Sorbonne. Yvonne Fermillot, *Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* [Catalogues régionnaux des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France XII] (Paris, 1995), no. 494.

23   Dublin, Trinity College. T.K. Abbott, *Catalogue of Fifteenth-Century Books in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin and in Marsh's Library, Dublin, with a Few from Other Collections* (Dublin, 1905), no. 440.

24   Bod-Inc P-428.

25   BL, IA. 47354, BMC IX, p. 37.

26   See notes 1 and 3 above.

27   Morison, *European Discovery of America* (see n. 1 above), p. 206.

At the end of the letter John Day politely suggests that the book be returned to him: 'When your Lordship is through with it, please deliver the book or command that it be given to Mycer Jorge'. Columbus did not oblige, for the copy of Leeu's edition sent to Columbus is still in the Bibliotheca Colombina in Seville, the large library collected by Christopher's son Fernando into which the books he had inherited from his father were incorporated. Don Fernando recorded his collection in a 'Registrum' consisting of careful descriptions of each item, with notes on places and prices of his purchases.[28] The Marco Polo is identifiable beyond doubt by Leeu's error 'pepur', repeated in the Registrum 'in Latinum traductum per franciscum de pepurijs'; the entry does not have a note of purchase, which confirms that the book was inherited.

The Colombina copy bears hundreds of marginal notes (or '*postillae*'), which are partly in the hand of Christopher Columbus.[29] This annotation used to be disputed: Were the marginalia written before 1492—and thus traces of Columbus's reading in preparation of the case he put before King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella when he was seeking support for his voyage of exploration? With the discovery of John Day's letter this pleasant fantasy can be dismissed, since it refers to events that took place in 1497. Columbus was certainly already aware of Marco Polo's description of Cathay and Cipango. His annotations, however, were probably made after his first or even his second voyage, when he tried to match his own observations of the Caribbean coasts with what was

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28   Archer M. Huntington, *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique Manuscript in the Colombine Library of Seville* (New York, 1905), no. 2741.

29   The *postillae* in this copy are transcribed with Latin context in Cesare de Lollis, *Scritti di Cristoforo Colombo: Raccolta de documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombina*, vol. II (Rome, 1892–1894), pp. 446–470. The *postillae* are reproduced in facsimile in the same series of the *Raccolta*, vol. III, pt. I, ser. D (Plates 94–100), with the title *Autografi di Cristoforo Colombo*. A very well-documented source is J.B. Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains as Revealed by Original Printed and Manuscript Records* (3 vols., New York, 1904). In vol. III Thacher reproduced extensive examples of Columbus's handwriting; p. 461, n. 2, is a correct description of the copy of the Leeu edition in the Colombina. For a reproduction of the notes Thacher referred to De Lollis. The copy is also reproduced in facsimile by Juan Gil, *Libro de Marco Polo: Ejemplar anotado por Cristóbal Colón* [Tabula Americae 5] (Madrid, 1986). Failing to find a copy in the UK I have not consulted this work. Gil translated (but did not illustrate) the notes in his translation of Pipino's text into Spanish, *El libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, 1987).

described by Marco Polo.[30] His autograph notes are practical, highlighting the merchandise of a region or the dangers for the seafarer: 'pirates'. At least two other readers, including his son Ferdinand, read the book at a later date with pen in hand.

From the survival of Leeu's book in so many copies we may infer that there was no lack of appreciation of his neat little book, and that he had been successful in marketing it. The absence of a reprint therefore goes against an axiom of the history of the book trade: that reprinting is a measure of success. We are faced with a paradox. Perhaps part of an explanation is that a Latin text was competing with vernacular versions in print, even if Leeu's treatment of the Latin text had some features of the freedom of transmitting a text in a vernacular language. Leeu's Latin edition was not the first appearance in print of Marco Polo's text. In 1477 a German version was printed by Friedrich Creussner in Nuremberg, in small folio format.[31] It begins with an elegant full-page woodcut portrait of the youthful hero. Four years later, in 1481, it was reprinted by Anton Sorg in Augsburg, following *Die Historie von Herzog Leopold und seinem Sohn Wilhelm*, the adventures illustrated with many woodcuts.[32] With this second edition (also published before Leeu's edition of c. 1483/1484), the vernacular text in print was unambiguously placed in the genre of 'adventure and romance', albeit with a historical slant. This is confirmed by the other recorded incunable editions, printed in Venice, in Venetian dialect, in 1496 and reprinted in Brescia in 1500.[33] The vernacular editions survive in fewer copies, as is the way of vernacular printing, but the fact that they were reprinted (probably more often than the record of survival indicates) is a certain sign of their success. Leeu's edition in Latin, not illustrated and looking so scholarly, was initially well taken up and carefully preserved by many, but it turned out not to be the vehicle best suited for this story. Although Pipino's translation was

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30   John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven—London, 1999), pp. 155–159. The author's designation of the Leeu edition as 'Antwerp, between 1485 and 1490' is unfortunate. For a more general view of Columbus and the Colombina I also made grateful use of M.P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector (1488–1539)* (London, 2005), especially the chapter 'The life and work of Ferdinand Columbus', which provides a biographical survey of the life of Christopher based on a wealth of Spanish publications.

31   BMC II, 449. ISTC ip00901000. GW M34804.

32   GW 12843, ISTC il00184000.

33   Venice, Johannes Baptista Sessa, 13 June 1496, 8⁰, ISTC ip00903000; GW M34800 notes the Venetian dialect. This edition was reprinted in Brescia by Baptista Farfengus, 20 December 1500, 8⁰, with one woodcut, ISTC ip00904000, GW M34802.

widely disseminated in manuscript for almost 200 years, by the end of the fifteenth century the text was better loved as an adventure story, a comfortable read in one's own language. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century, when the interest in the great journeys of discovery was well established, that a need for a scholarly approach to the record of Marco Polo's experiences was widely felt. Until then only Christopher Columbus compared his own observations with those of Marco Polo, and used Leeu's text to this end, leaving traces of his attentive reading.

The *History of Jason*: From Manuscripts for the Burgundian Court to Printed Books for Readers in the Towns of Holland

The present study has grown from earlier work which concentrated on the use as printer's copy of the manuscript of a Dutch translation of *l'Histoire de Jason* by Raoul Lefèvre for the edition printed in Haarlem in 1485. This was the subject of my doctoral thesis in 1974[1] and is a focal point of the second half of the essay in the form presented here. The complex history of the dissemination of Lefèvre's re-creation of mythological stories, in French and in translation, led to further considerations of their transition from Flanders to Holland, and not only of the printers but also the translators and artists who each played a part in this process. Central to the study remains the interpretation of the material evidence that arises from examining the manuscript and the six printed editions related to it.[2] Their origin is with the very distinct imagery of a ruling dynasty; viewing them together, they may be seen as reflecting a more general development in forms of transmission, not only bringing changes in style and taste, but accelerating cultural mobility.

Reshaped by Raoul Lefèvre in the 1460s, the ancient legends of Jason and the Golden Fleece, and Hercules and the destruction of Troy became a model of rapid transformation as they migrated from manuscript to print, from language to language, and their presentation was adapted for new readers who were not familiar with the pageantry that had inspired these particular versions of Greek mythology. The identity of the author of these versions, *l'Histoire de*

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1 Lotte Hellinga-Querido, *Methode en praktijk bij het zetten van boeken in de vijftiende eeuw* [Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam] (Amsterdam, 1974). (privately printed).

2 The manuscript is British Library, Add MS 10290 (1). The six printed editions are in chronological order: *Recueil* in French (c. 1474): ISTC il00113000, Duff 243, GW M17433, ILC 1419, CIBN L-79, BMC IX, p. 131. *Jason* in French (c. 1477): ISTC il00110930, Duff 244, GW M17457, ILC 1415, CIBN L-85. *Jason* in Dutch (1485): ISTC il00111000, GW M17467, ILC 1417, CIBN L-88; *Recueil* in Dutch (1485): ISTC il00116000, GW M17453, ILC 1421, CIBN L-84. *Jason* in French (c. 1486): ISTC il00110950, GW M17455, ILC 1416, CIBN L-87. *Recueil* in French (c. 1486): ISTC il00113500, GW M17434, ILC 1420. Text editions: G. Pinkernell (ed.), *L'histoire de Jason: Ein Roman aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M., 1971). Marc Aeschbach (ed.), *Raoul Lefevre, Le recoeil des histoires de Troyes* (Bern—New York, 1987).

Jason and *Le recueil des histoires de Troie*, is largely obscure. Raoul Lefèvre was a cleric hovering on the fringes of the court of the dukes of Burgundy. He was attached to the household of Jean V de Créquy, a Picardian nobleman who was close to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and one of the first men Philip made a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. He also shared with the duke a taste for collecting literary and historical texts in beautiful manuscripts.[3] Jean de Créquy assembled a substantial library and employed several scribes, the best-known among them David Aubert, who was later to become famous as 'escripvain' of magnificent manuscripts.[4] Raoul Lefèvre had a modest place in this circle, where he is documented in 1461 as chaplain to the Seigneur de Créquy. Whether he was later chaplain to Philip the Good, as claimed in some sources, remains uncertain.[5] In any case, in the histories of the Court of Burgundy Lefèvre is remembered not as a priest but as a raconteur of fictitious history. In his retelling of the history of Jason and the Golden Fleece (enriched with some inventions of his own) and the history of the first destruction of Troy, Lefèvre had found a form for the ancient stories which held great appeal for his contemporaries and the generation that followed. He dedicated both texts, written c. 1460 and c. 1464, respectively, to Philip the Good, the heroes of the stories, Jason and Hercules, being the mythological ancestors of his dynasty. The imagery of Jason and the Golden Fleece, and the legends of Troy had already been a strong element in the culture surrounding the duke's grandfather, Philip the Bold, long before Philip the Good founded the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430. It continued to feature prominently in meetings of the Order and other great occasions, and several adaptations of the stories were written and circulated in manuscripts, once even attempting to give the Greek mythology a Christian slant. Lefèvre's interpretation was chevaleresque. Initially written

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3   Marc Gil, 'Le mécénat littéraire de Jean V de Créquy, conseiller et chambellan de Philippe le Bon: exemple singulier de création et de diffusion d'oeuvres nouvelles à la cour de Bourgogne', *Eulalie, Revue publiée par L'Association Régionale des Directeurs de Bibliothèques du Nord—Pas-de-Calais*, 1 (1998), pp. 69–95 (on David Aubert and Raoul Lefèvre, pp. 74–75). I am grateful to Mme Marie-Pierre Dion, Conservateur Général of the Bibliothèque de Valenciennes, for sending me this issue of this beautiful but short-lived periodical.

4   David Aubert, born in Hesdin, not far from Créquy, hailed from a family serving as officials to the dukes of Burgundy. His father was in charge of the duke's Chambre de Compte in Lille. See Robert Bossuat etc., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, vol. 1: *Le Moyen Age* (Paris, 1964).

5   Gil, 'Le mécénat littéraire' (see n. 3 above), p. 75, casts doubt on Lefèvre's later function as chaplain to Philip the Good: 'Les dernières recherches … tendent à nier son titre de chapelain ducal', with reference to *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises, Le Moyen Age* (Paris, 1992), p. 1238. In all printed sources of the *Recueil*, beginning with William Caxton's translation into English, 1473–1474 (Duff 242), he is named as chaplain to the duke.

within a short space of time—*Jason* four years before *Troy*—the two texts were multiplied in spectacularly illuminated manuscripts destined for the duke himself and his entourage.

The history of the two texts in their original French versions encapsulates the literary culture of scribes in the Burgundian era who were also authors and translators. These men of letters were specialists in bringing texts to life in beautifully presented books, in collaboration with highly skilled miniaturists, first as costly manuscripts destined for the court and other courtly customers. In the course of the 1470s some of them made the transition to printing, most famously Colard Mansion in Bruges; Jean Brito, also working in Bruges but on a more modest scale;[6] and perhaps for a while David Aubert in Ghent. Their publishing of such texts in print, less costly and therefore accessible to a broader spectrum of readers, began to give these tales much wider dissemination.

After Duke Philip's death in 1467 the imagery of the Troy stories featured in the celebration of the marriage of his son and successor, Charles the Bold, to the English princess Margaret of York, which took place in Bruges in the summer of 1468. The extravagant spectacles in Bruges celebrating the wedding were witnessed by William Caxton, then resident in Bruges with the function of Governor of the English Nation. They probably inspired him to begin a translation of Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie* into English for the benefit of the new duchess. Once he had shown her 'a few quires', he tells us in his prologue to the book, she commanded him to complete it, and he dedicated his translation to her. He then famously launched into a new venture and had it printed. It was the first time the English language appeared in print, and although the book was produced in close association with the ducal court, it was a first and important step towards the migration of Lefèvre's works from a French-language courtly environment to a language and medium which in due course made them accessible to other layers of society, such as landed gentry and prosperous merchants in England, who are known later to have owned copies of the printed book.[7]

The printing of the English *Recuyell* was probably completed in 1473 or early 1474. Publication of the English translation of *l'Histoire de Jason* followed much later, although this text ought to have preceded the *Recuyell* in the chronology of the mythological events, and it was the text Lefèvre wrote first. But Charles

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6   Jean Brito is known as a scribe and a member of the Guild of St John in Bruges; six small works printed by him c. 1477–1478 survive mainly as fragments. See ILC, p. 463.

7   Yu-Chiao Wang, 'Caxton's Romances and Their Early Tudor Readers', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), pp. 173–188, discusses the ownership of a number of the romances published by Caxton, taking particular note of copies of the *Recuyell*.

the Bold was known to favour Hercules as a model—the protagonist in Lefèvre's version of the story of Troy—instead of his father's hero, Jason. Another reason, and a delicate one, for deferring the publication of an English version of *Jason* is presumably that the ducal marriage remained childless: a text bewailing the infertility of a royal couple in its very first lines was hardly suitable for presentation to the duchess in these circumstances, when a dynasty was desperate for a male heir.[8] Both printed editions of *Jason*, in English and in French, are undated. Paper evidence has shown that Caxton's English version of *Jason* (and probably also the French version) was printed in 1477, after Charles had been killed in battle, which put an end to his dynasty for good;[9] by then Caxton was established as a printer in Westminster, and he dedicated the English book to the young Prince of Wales. Meanwhile, the *Recueil* was also printed in French, at the same press in Flanders that had produced the English translation, followed a few years later by *Jason* in French.[10] Compared with manuscripts of the period, the books are austere productions, printed on paper and unadorned with miniatures, although they were printed in a generous fount of type that is akin to David Aubert's style of writing. But they put the texts within reach of a new readership.

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8   The text begins: 'Anciennement les Rois et les Princes de haulte felicite attendoient quant la leur semence leur apportoit generacion. Mais quant ace ne paruenoient quelque prosperite quilz eussent leur vie estoit trauerssee de continuel regret Et visitoient temples et oracles iusques ala consummacion de leurs iours ...'. In Caxton's translation: 'Anciently the kynges and Princes of hye felicite were attendaunt and awayted whan their seed shold bringe forth generacion. But whan so was that they myghte not come therto. what prosperite they had Their lyf was traversid in contynuell bewailing, and they vysited temples and oracles vnto the consummacion of their dayes ...'. Quoted from the first edition in French (Duff 244, fol. [a]3ᵃ, BnF, CIBN L-85, and Duff 245, fol. [a]5ᵃ), BL, BMC XI, pp. 107–108.

9   For the dating of Caxton's English *Jason*, Duff 245, see Paul Needham, 'The Paper of English Incunabula', in BMC XI, p. 322. The dating of the Flemish *Jason* edition in French is uncertain, since, as Needham points out, supported by WILC, it is printed on paper that is not found in any of the other books printed either in Ghent or in Bruges, or indeed in the Low Countries. Needham suggests the date 'c. 1476', since Caxton may have referred to it as 'recently printed' in his own English edition of *Jason*, which is not dated but arguably datable as early in 1477. A date early in 1477 would seem equally possible for the French version, with the same explanation for its appearance after the death of Charles the Bold. An earlier date, in 1475, and closer to the publication of the French *Recueil*, c. 1474, cannot be ruled out either. However, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, I have adopted the dating of the first edition in French as 'c. 1477'.

10   Duff 243 and 244. For the problem of dating the French *Jason*, see n. 9 above. For the arguments regarding the localisation of the press, see Lotte Hellinga, 'William Caxton, Colard Mansion, and the Printer in Type 1', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 2011, pp. 86–114.

Caxton's translation and publication of Lefèvre's *Recueil* was the beginning of a sequence of translations of French literary and devotional texts which he had come to know during the many years he spent in Flanders. Over the next 20 years his publications were a significant contribution to widening the horizon of those readers in England to whom French literature had not been accessible in the original language. He provided texts with which they could not have been familiar: new cultural goods were imported on a commercial basis.

The publication in translation of Lefèvre's texts by Caxton and his subsequent publication programme may guide us to a similar course of events which took place in Holland about a decade later, with a similar, if smaller wave of texts migrating to a quite culturally distinct environment. In 1485 Jacob Bellaert published in the town of Haarlem, in Holland, the Dutch translations of *l'Histoire de Jason* and the *Recueil des histoires de Troie*, followed a year later by the two books in French. They were part of a more extensive publishing programme which included translations from the French, some by authors directly associated with the Burgundian court. The list of 18 books Bellaert is known to have published from late 1483 to 1486, a short period of just over three years, seems to be an extension and intensification of the publishing programme of his former master Gheraert Leeu in Gouda—about whom more information is given below. Bellaert's books were strikingly illustrated by the work of an outstanding artist generally known as the Bellaert Master, who reached an apogee in the series he created for the editions in Dutch of *Jason* and the *Historie van Troye*.

The transition of Lefèvre's *Jason* from manuscript to print and to a new environment is documented in the codex (British Library Add MS 10290) that includes the Dutch translation and served Bellaert as printer's copy. As a manuscript it is modest when compared to the splendour of other manuscripts of Lefèvre's texts created for Burgundian courtiers, but it is a valuable source for opening up perspectives on the actual migration of both text and iconography. It therefore rewards close examination from the point of view of the history of art, history of printing, and of textual history.

The codex Add MS 10290 contains two manuscripts in Middle Dutch, translations of *l'Histoire de Jason* and of Jacobus de Cessolis, *De ludo scaccorum*. The texts were written by different scribes, but both were illustrated with fine washed-pen drawings by the same highly rated artist who is now known to art historians as 'the Jason Master'. The *Jason* manuscript is the earliest known instance of printer's copy for a book in which the printer combined text with numerous illustrations.

It will be clear that several areas of special interest converge in the codex Add MS 10290. In the present study I propose to present successively a concise

codicological description of the codex, to discuss the printer Jacob Bellaert and his relation to Gheraert Leeu, to examine the drawings and the context of the iconographical tradition as discussed by various art historians, to address the practices of Bellaert's printing house which become evident in his use of printer's copy, and to investigate the use of copies of the earlier editions of *Jason* and *Recueil* in French for reprinting.

Description of Add MS 10290

The codex consists of two manuscripts in Middle Dutch, *De Historie van Jason* and *Het Scaecspel*. The *Jason* manuscript is written on paper and consists of 159 leaves, is in a small-folio format, and measures c. 270 × 192 mm. Originally it included 161 leaves, structured as 13 quires of 6 bifolia and a final quire consisting of 3 bifolia; the final leaf (probably blank) is wanting.[11] The eleventh quire (quire l) has only 11 leaves, a cancel stub between leaves 6 and 7 showing that the original leaf 7 is missing. There is no loss of text, and leaf 7 must have been cut out while the work of the illuminator and scribe was in progress. In the sixth quire leaf 10 is lost, replaced by a leaf with a watermark that can be dated as c. 1575–1585. The same watermark is found on three flyleaves—two at the beginning and one at the end—which shows that the codex was rebound at about that time. They are clearly distinct from the nineteenth-century flyleaves (three at each end of the volume) which are part of the binding by the British Museum bindery. The leaf serving as a substitute for the lost leaf contains in abbreviated form the missing text written in a hand of the late sixteenth century; a square marked in ink at the bottom of the recto indicates that this was the place for a drawing, which was to head the beginning of the chapter 'Hoe Apollo gesonden was van den gode Mars …', etc. (How Apollo was sent by the god Mars …).

The *Jason* manuscript was bound at an early date with a manuscript of a translation into Middle Dutch of Jacobus de Cessolis, *De ludo scaccorum*, known as *Boeck van den Scaecspel*, which still forms the second part of the codex. In both manuscripts, the first recto of each quire has a binder's signature in an early hand near the gutter, in the lower left-hand corner; the sequence a–o in the *Jason* manuscript (with the exception of quires b–d) continues in the same hand with signatures p–x in the manuscript of the *Scaecspel*.[12] The

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11   Collating a–e^{12} f^{12} (± f10) g–k^{12} l$^{12-1}$ m–n^{12} o$^{6-1}$.

12   Collating: p–v^{10}, x^{6}.

FIG. 12.1   *The opening page of* De Historie van Jason, *with the dedication of the text to Duke Philip the Good by its author. The frame around the drawing and the decorative pen work may have been added some time after the manuscript was written. BL, Add MS 10290, fol. 2ʳ. © The British Library Board. All rights Reserved 31.01.2014.*

final leaves of *Jason* are signed 01–05. There is a sequence of foliation in ink 1–159 in the *Jason* manuscript, followed by 1–66 in *Scaecspel*, probably dating from the eighteenth century; pencil foliation was later written in the British Museum, with the sequence 2–161 beginning on leaf a1ʳ in *Jason*, continued in the *Scaecspel* with the sequence 162–227.[13] For reference, in the present study I have used the modern pencil foliation, although it is one leaf out of step with the quire structure.

The paper of the *Jason* manuscript is a supply of two distinct groups of watermarks; in quires a–i there is a mark which in the terminology of watermark description is characterised as 'letter p, quatrefoil, wide dash', and in quires k–o there is a shorter 'letter p quatrefoil'. Since its use as printer's copy suggested there might perhaps be links between the manuscript and printing houses in the Netherlands, I checked whether paper with this group of watermarks is recorded in the WILC database of paper used in incunabula in the Low Countries,[14] with negative results: there is no record of the marks with matching measurements in the database. The manuscript of *Scaecspel* begins with a quire of 10 leaves with what appears to be the same paper supply as quires a–i in *Jason*. It then continues with two quires (r and s) with a watermark of a 'large pot, single ear', which again does not have a precise equivalent either in WILC or in the Piccard *Wasserzeichenkartei*; in quires t and v a new watermark p appears, and the manuscript ends with 10 leaves with the watermark p with wide dash, also found in its first quires and in *Jason*. There can be little doubt that the two manuscripts were linked in some way before they became bound together as a codex, not only because they contain the drawings by the same artist, but the paper stocks also offer some evidence of a common supply. This does not clarify the circumstances of how the genesis of the two manuscripts came to be linked, nor does it explain when and where this took place.[15] It should be noted, however, that the sequence of paper supplies in the two manuscripts suggests that *Scaecspel* may have been produced before *Jason*: *Scaecspel* ends with the supply with which *Jason* begins and which is its main supply. This may be of

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13   The second sixteenth-century flyleaf is counted as fol. 1.

14   WILC ('Watermarks in the Low Countries') is developed by and held at the Royal Library, The Hague, and available via the library's website or via ISTC.

15   Rineke Nieuwstraten, 'Overlevering en verandering: de pentekeningen van de Jasonmeester en de houtsneden van de Meester van Bellaert in de *Historie van Jason*', in J.M.M. Hermans and Klaas van de Hoek (eds.), *Boeken in de late Middeleeuwen* (Groningen, 1994), pp. 111–124, assigned the *Jason* manuscript a date in the early 1480s on the grounds of the style of the costumes in the drawings.

some significance when we come to a final interpretation of the roles of the two manuscripts in relation to printers.

In the *Jason* manuscript the space for texts and illustrations is marked on each page with lines very lightly drawn in light brown chalk, delineating an area measuring c. 186×123 mm at the top of the page, c. 186×126 at the bottom. The lines are drawn to the edges of the paper. From fol. 2^v to 13^r the delineation is mostly in double lines, and from there on single lines. Where there are double lines, the last line of text is written in the space between the two bottom lines.

The text of *Jason* is written in a littera cursiva, mostly in rather light brown ink, 23–29 lines to the page. Occasionally there is an abrupt change in ink colour, from dark to pale (e.g. 15^r, 17^v). On pages with drawings the remaining space is filled with 5–13 lines of text and, unless placed on the previous page, 3- to 5-line chapter titles. The hand is very regular but not calligraphic at all; the only signs of ornament are some extended ascenders in the top lines of a few pages in the beginning (5^r, 6^r, 8^r, 10^v, 11^r, 12^r, 12^v). The line ends are irregular, habitually going over the vertical delineation line on the right. The beginning of the prologue is marked by a four-line-high initial in blue with red infill and 135 mm of red marginal pen work extending above and below the five lines of text; it is identified by R. Nieuwstraten as in a Haarlem style.[16] On the first 22 leaves the beginnings of chapters are marked by three-line plain Lombard initials in red, and the paragraphs within the chapters by two-line Lombards, also in red. From fol. 23^v the distinction between the Lombards marking the beginnings of chapters and those marking paragraphs is abandoned, and from there on all Lombards are two lines high. Capitals are marked by the rubricator with a small stroke in red. There is no punctuation. Line-fillers consisting of evenly spaced red, slightly curled dashes are the only other decoration (see Fig. 12.2).

The contents of the *Jason* manuscript closely follow the French version as printed c. 1477 in Flanders. Since a copy of this edition served as exemplar

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16 Nieuwstraten, 'Overlevering en verandering' (see n. 15 above), p. 123, n. 31, with reference to pen flourishes in local styles documented and illustrated in Anne S. Korteweg (ed.), *Kriezels, aubergines en takkenbossen: Randversieringen in Noordnederlandse handschriften uit de vijftiende eeuw* (Zutphen, 1992), pp. 84–115. This leaves the question of whether decoration, pen work, and other rubrication in the *Jason* manuscript were added at a later time, when the manuscript can definitely be located in Haarlem, perhaps after it was used as printer's copy. The history of its ownership indicates that it remained a valued object. There is in *Kriezels* no documentation of a Gouda style of decoration, which should be considered as an alternative.

for Bellaert for his edition of the French version in 1486,[17] his two editions, Dutch and French, undoubtedly have a common origin, and a copy of the book printed in Flanders may first have served the translator before being used in the printing house as printer's copy. The text begins with the author's prologue (fol. 2ʳ–3ʳ); the main text, running from 3ᵛ to 161ʳ, is divided into 24 chapters, each divided into smaller paragraphs. An outstanding feature of the manuscript is its illustration with washed pen drawings in delicate colours at the beginning of the prologue and 19 of the chapters (see below).

The marks made by compositors when the manuscript was used as printer's copy—small interlinear dashes, vertical strokes in the text, and some large numerals towards the end of the work—will be discussed below, where they are interpreted in order to follow the production process. Another trace of use in the printing house is that some of the top pages of quires are notably dirtier and have more stains of printing ink than other pages, indicating that the *Jason* manuscript was not yet bound when used in the printing house.

As already discussed above, the manuscript of the *Scaecspel* has several links with the *Jason* manuscript: the 13 washed pen drawings by the same artist who worked in the *Jason* manuscript,[18] the paper supplies they have in common, and the fact that the sequence of binder's signatures shows that the two were bound together early on. But the production of the text was manifestly independent of that of the *Jason* manuscript, presenting itself in a distinct style. It is written in a different hand, a Dutch littera hybrida, in darker ink than the *Jason*, with slightly narrower dimensions of the area of writing on the pages. The layout of the 13 drawings is columnar (see Fig. 12.5 below). The initial with pen work at the beginning of the text is larger and much more elaborate than the initial on fol. 2ʳ in *Jason*. The text is rubricated, paragraphs marked by Lombards in red in the same or similar plain style as those in *Jason*, but those marking the beginnings of chapters in *Scaecspel* are all blue. There are no line-fillers. The successive actions to produce the *Scaecspel*'s text (writing, rubrication) are therefore distinct and independent from those of *Jason*, whereas the drawings and the paper supply link the two.

The text of the *Scaecspel* belongs to the same branch in the tradition as the edition printed by Gheraert Leeu in Gouda in 1479,[19] but comparison of the

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17 See pp. 347–358 below.

18 See pp. 328–329 below.

19 Geertruida H. van Schaick-Avelingh, *Dat Scaecspel: Introduction to the Edition of the Middle-Dutch Translation* (Leiden, 1912) lists (pp. XIL–XLVII) seven manuscripts of this translation, three of which, including Add MS 10290, are illuminated. Close in date is the manuscript in Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS GKS 383, with the scribe's colophon 'Bruges,

two sources shows constantly occurring small differences between them. The manuscript does not show any sign that it was used in the printing house. At this stage the nature of the small but constant variation of the text makes it seem improbable that the manuscript was copied from the printed book, but the possible relation between the two sources deserves closer examination. It remains curious that the text was produced in a slightly different version in manuscript—enriched with fine drawings—while it was printed in 1479 without illustrations but with blank spaces left open in appropriate places in the text. In one copy of the Leeu edition the spaces are filled with fine miniatures in a style which is close to that of Leeu's first woodcutter, whose activity is known from 1480.[20]

A further distinction between the scribes of the two manuscripts is that there are many small corrections in the *Jason* manuscript (see below), apparently made by the scribe while he was writing, followed by correction of his spelling in clearly different ink; the *Scaecspel* is written without any corrections at all.

The Drawings in the Two Manuscripts

The *Jason* manuscript originally included 21 washed pen drawings, of which one (on leaf 71$^{\mathrm{r}}$) is lost. They are listed in Appendix I. The prologue is preceded

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24 September 1481'; van Schaick-Avelingh notes that it includes 'colourful drawings'. Dr Ivan Boserup of the Copenhagen KB very kindly sent me scans of the large miniatures, which showed no relationship at all to the drawings by the Jason Master.

20 ISTC ic00411000, ILC 553, GW 6535, dated 2 October 1479. The copy with illumination: Manchester, JRUL, JRL 17262. An edition, also in-folio and with spaces for illustrations, was printed by Johannes Vollenhoe in Zwolle, who accompanied it with an edition of an abbreviated version of the text in-quarto. Vollenhoe's editions are dated 1478–1480, and 1478/1479–1480 in ILC 552, 555 (ISTC ic00411500, ic00411600), but it can be shown that for his folio edition Vollenhoe used Leeu's edition as exemplar, most obviously when a section of text present in Leeu was skipped by Vollenhoe. ILC 552 should therefore be dated 'not before 2 October 1479'. Leeu's text was followed verbally, and for long stretches even the punctuation was followed, but Vollenhoe's compositor consistently transposed the language of the Gouda edition into forms appropriate for a market in the eastern part of the Low Countries—for example, ouden > olden, gouden > golden, paert > peert, werden > warden, and spellings such as maecten > maicten, waerom > wairom, moedich > moidich, toesien > toisien. Cf. A. van Loey, *Middelnederlandse spraakkunst*, pt. 2: *Klankleer* (4th ed., Groningen—Antwerp, 1965), p. 129. I am grateful to Dr Evert van den Berg, Zwolle, who confirmed that these language forms are characteristic of the northeast of the Dutch language area.

by a pen drawing, larger than the others, representing the dedication of the book by its author to Duke Philip the Good, who is identified by the text and by the chain with the Golden Fleece he is wearing (see Fig. 12.1). Of the 24 chapters, 19 were originally headed by a drawing in the same hand, each occupying approximately one-half to two-thirds of a page.[21] The fourth and fifth, and the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters have no such illustration, and the drawing that should have headed the twelfth chapter was on the lost leaf 71. The spaces for the drawings are delineated with thin lines in dark ink. The drawings are made with a very fine pen working with black ink, with washes in pink, blue, brown, and grey.

In the beginning of the work the artist stuck to a layout of placing the drawings at the top of pages, followed by 10–11 lines of text, but after placing the drawings in this way on fol. 3^v, 6^v, 9^r, and 23^v he placed on fol. 32^r a drawing at the bottom of the page, preceded by 11 lines of text and a 3-line chapter title. Subsequently there are seven drawings placed at the bottom of pages, and an equal number at the top. The 'top' pages continue to conform to the layout set at the beginning, whereas the 'bottom' pages include titles, each several lines long. The main difference, however, is that most of the drawings placed at the bottom do not have squared-off tops, but let roofs, spires, masts, and mountains reach higher into the area designated for text. Sometimes the differences in height are schematically outlined in ink (e.g. fol. 58^r), sometimes not (e.g. fol. 91^r).

There was perceptibly more freedom in using the space of the page as work progressed. How this was possible is revealed by another observation. In several places the writing of the manuscript goes clearly over the drawings, intruding into the grey or blue wash of the background, and in some places it even goes over the ink lines of the drawing.[22] In other drawings the rubricator's ink crosses the image. Under magnification I observed writing or red ink over drawings on:

fol. 2^r: tall E in 'DE'.
fol. 6^v: descenders of line on top go into the drawing.
fol. 23^v: a pen-trial ('IN') over the top line of the drawing; of the first line of text below drawing the N goes into the delineation.

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21   The drawing on fol. 6^v, the joust at the court of the king of Thebes in which Hercules and Jason both excel, is not placed at the beginning of a chapter.

22   I am very grateful to my former colleague Dr Ann Payne for confirming this observation in the *Jason* manuscript as well as in *Scaecspel*.

FIG. 12.2A–B *The drawing and the woodcut of Jason slaying the dragon on the island Colchos, both reduced. Left:* BL, *Add* MS 10290, *fol. 106ᵛ.© The British Library Board. All rights Reserved 31.01.2014. Right: Washington* DC, *Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection*(EP) *52, Goff* L-111, *fol. G8ᵇ.*

fol. 32ʳ: red line underlining the chapter title goes through spires.

fol. 37ᵛ: red underlining goes through top of helmet; final flourish goes into background colour.

fol. 53ʳ: ascender goes through Jason's bare foot (see Figs. 12.3A–B).

fol. 58ʳ: in the fourth short line of the chapter title, beginning with 'ysiphile' the y goes into the colour of the sky on the left; long ſ in 'onſe' goes into Mirro's hat.

fol. 91ʳ: ascender touches bottom line of drawing.

fol. 130ᵛ: descenders go into ceiling at the top of the drawing.

fol. 138ʳ: on the extreme left- and right-hand sides of the drawing the script goes over the washed colour and pen lines (see Figs. 12.4A–B).

fol. 152ʳ: the layout of the chapter title takes account of the outline of the drawing, which has spires on both sides of the text.

There is some further evidence on fol. 6ᵛ, where at the top of the page a line of text is written above the top of the drawing, the only time this happened. Apparently this was the solution to a 'copy-fitting' problem, or the final line

FIGS. 12.3A–B *The ascender is written over the tip of Jason's bare foot.* BL, Add MS 10290, fol. 53ʳ
(reduced). Right: Detail © *The British Library Board. All rights Reserved 31.01.2014.*

of the previous chapter had accidentally been left out. In any case, it is an indication that the drawing was there before the text was written.

There is one exception—for the drawing on fol. 144ʳ the artist seems to have taken account of the Lombard at the beginning of the chapter; there is no overlap with the writing, but the curved bottom line of the drawing seems to have been shaped following the writing. This drawing may have been made after the page was written.

There are several indications that with the writing of the text the work on the manuscript had not come to an end. Apart from the rubricator who marked Lombard initials, lines through capitals, and the small flourishes at the end of lines, and who may have been responsible for the pen work flourish on the opening initial, someone else worked with a slightly different colour of red, and with a brush rather than a pen, probably at a later date. This person surrounded the drawings on 2ʳ, 3ᵛ, 6ᵛ (but not at the top), and 9ʳ with thin red frames, but did not continue. He (or she) daubed red (too much of it) on six drawings (faces on 6ᵛ, 9ʳ, 53ʳ, 118ʳ, 144ʳ, on the big shield on 23ᵛ, and on 32ʳ Jason is covered in red). Red paint was spilled on 14ᵛ, 15ʳ, and 23ᵛ. Half of one drawing (on 77ᵛ) seems rather spoiled by a liberal application of dense brown, but then again it represents the island of Colchis covered in smoke as the ship Argos approaches.

The artist who illustrated the *Jason* manuscript produced 13 drawings for the manuscript of the *Scaecspel*, working with the same technique and using the

same washes; these are also listed in Appendix I.[23] After the many drawings for *Jason*, which often depict vigorous action, the subject matter of the drawings for the *Scaecspel*, depicting allegorical pieces on a chessboard, is by its nature more static. But even when seated or standing, the figures are lively and expressive. Objects held in hands (spear, staff, rod) reach high above the figure itself, adding a sense of dynamism.

As noted above, the text of the *Scaecspel* was written in a different hand, by a scribe who faithfully copied the text without any corrections. The relation between script and drawing is less obvious than in the *Jason* manuscript. The drawings are columnar and on the left-hand side of the page; only in one drawing is a fine vertical ink line visible, separating the space for text and drawing (the Queen, on 171ᵛ). In each, the left-hand edge of the text is entirely straight. Usually the fit between drawing and script is very close, but there is occasional overlap of the script over the drawings, albeit less frequently than in the *Jason* manuscript. I noticed this on fol. 208ᵛ (Draper), where the descender of the g in 'gerekent' clearly goes over the pink top of the hat (see Fig. 12.5), and on 211ʳ (Merchant), where in the line below the drawing, for the contracted

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23   For J. Marrow's and W. Wüstefeld's ascription of the drawings in *Scaecspel* to the Jason Master, see p. 328, n. 53.

FIGS. 12.5A–B *Scaecspel: The script (descender of 'g') goes through the top of the draper's hat. London BL, Add MS 10290 (2), fol. 208ᵛ. (Detail.) Right: Detail. © The British Library Board. All rights Reserved 31.01.2014.*

form 'ipso μ'[24] the macron in that word goes over the man's right foot. On 219ʳ a descender of the line above touches the innkeeper's hat.

Although small, these occurrences show that, as in *Jason*, the drawings were produced before the text was written; but here it seems probable that the artist and the scribe worked from a manuscript with the same layout combining text with miniatures, and copied it precisely. When writing the narrow columns to the right of the drawings, the scribe probably covered the drawing with stiff paper or parchment, thus demarcating the area free for writing, as well as producing its very straight left-hand edge.

In the *Jason* manuscript, however, it is obvious that there was constant interaction between the artist and the scribe—the text following the artist once a drawing was made, but also the artist following the scribe in order to place the drawing in the appropriate space once the previous chapter had been written. The most obvious explanation is that the scribe was the same person as the artist, working from the (possibly rough) manuscript provided by the translator, writing in an unpretentious but regular and fluent hand, not disguising small corrections as he was copying. The cutting out of the original seventh leaf in quire l without a loss of text and drawing (which left a trace in the form of a

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24   For 'ipsorum' in the quotation 'Benedictus pauperes spiritu quia ipsorum est regnum celorum'.

cancel stub) also strongly supports the notion that drawing and writing took place in a single operation, for fol. l8ʳ has both text and drawing. The first attempt must have been rejected.

The alternative to postulating a close interaction is to assume that there was a fully laid out and illustrated manuscript of the Dutch translation available from which either the artist/scribe or both the artist and the scribe worked, and which would have helped to predetermine where the drawings had to be placed. This procedure is quite plausible for the *Scaecspel*, which was a popular, much-disseminated text with long-standing iconographical traditions. For *Jason* it would have been a manuscript with Flemish features and recently written. I see no grounds for ruling this out entirely, but it has to be remembered that the translation was in all likelihood made from the French version as printed c. 1477, which was not illustrated. There cannot have been more than a few years between the production of the French *Jason* in Flanders and the copying of the Dutch translation, arguably around 1480; this may be enough time to allow such an intermediate phase in transmission to have taken place, yet I find this the less likely of the possibilities. In any case, we have to accept that any evidence about the circumstances in which the Dutch *Jason* manuscript was produced cannot bring about certainty.

Correction of the Language in the *Jason* Manuscript Continued in Print

The correction of the text of *Jason* took place in distinct phases. The first phases are the corrections the scribe made as he went along, deleting a superfluous word, adding between the lines a word that he had missed out, or occasionally replacing a word that he wrongly anticipated or wrote down: 'blijde' > 'drouuich' (cheerful > sad).[25] A strange word like 'centaueroenen' (a bizarre Dutch representation of 'centaures') was difficult to get right first time round, viz. 'centa⟨u⟩roenen' on 9ʳ. No attempt was made to hide or disguise such corrections, which contributes to the impression of informality of the manuscript: despite the appealing and refined drawings, it was not written with the care due to a precious object. Some mistakes seem due to misreading an earlier version that had been written by a different person, which would explain the mistakes in reading, for example, 'dij ... verblinde' (blind you) > 'dij ... verblijde' (cheer you).

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25   fol. 155ʳ, l. 21.

The present *Jason* manuscript appears to have been copied from a version written by a scribe used to spelling with the idiomatic characteristics of West Flanders and Zeeland, which are distinct from the Dutch in the northwest of the Low Countries, the cities of the county of Holland, such as Haarlem and Gouda. The traces of the idioms surviving in the *Jason* manuscript are therefore a perceptible link between Flanders, where the French text originated and was disseminated from c. 1460, and the towns of Holland, where it was printed in Dutch, either by way of the draft version of the translation from French into Dutch or as an intermediate fully laid out manuscript. The most prominent idiomatic characteristic in the manuscript is the presence or absence of what is called the 'unetymological h', which appears, for example, in the pronoun 'hu' for 'u' (you), which in Holland is always spelled without an h. This form occurred intermittently in passages reporting direct speech. Also frequent are the short 'u' for 'o', as in the preposition 'up' for 'op' (on), and the 'ou' spelling, where the northern county spelled with the diphthong 'oe'.[26] These, however, were left uncorrected in the manuscript, and they appear in the printed version until quires I–L, when a second compositor took over who preferred the spellings which were characteristic for Holland. The southern spelling forms with h occur most frequently in the first 35 leaves of the manuscript, where many are very visibly corrected by a heavy line put through the offending letter.[27] After leaf 35 the unetymological h largely disappears, the scribe apparently having been instructed to leave it out and let his spelling conform to the usage of Holland rather than follow the text he was copying.

The instruction to the scribe and the editing in the early part of the manuscript are evidently part of a continuous process of adapting the Flemish- (or perhaps Zeeland-) flavoured language to that of Holland. This continued with the typesetting, for there are numerous differences in spelling between the exemplar and the printed book, although enough characteristic forms remained to note a distinction in language when the second compositor took over in quire I. The change in spelling by the scribe after writing about three quires is an important argument for localising the production of the manuscript in Holland; the scribe would be copying from a version, perhaps a draft translation, written with the spelling characteristics of a Flemish scribe. These characteristics of language in both manuscript and printed version also mark

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26   Van Loey, *Middelnederlandse spraakkunst* (see n. 20 above), p. 108, § 3 (unetymological h), pp. 70–71, § 85 (for the spelling 'ou' or 'oe', in Flanders as well as in Zeeland and Brabant), p. 27, § 25[b] (for the form 'up').

27   Also noted are corrections of the possessives 'huwes', and 'huere', 'hopen' for 'open', 'heysch' for 'eysch' (demand), and the noun 'heeren' for 'eeren' (honour).

a distinction between the language in *Jason* and that in the larger companion volume, the Dutch version of the *Recueil des histoires de Troie*, probably printed immediately after, or possibly overlapping with *Jason*. Its language has none of the signs of a Flemish substrate shining through, and its spellings all conform to the northern Dutch conventions, and also to those of the compositor of the final two quires of *Jason*. This also conforms with its colophon, with the date 5 May 1485 preceded by the information that the book was translated in Haarlem from French into Dutch. The contents of the *Recueil* are briefly summarised, ending with 'oec mede de gheheele hystorie van yason' (and also the entire story of Jason)—which I think should be read as referring to the enterprise of publishing both Lefèvre's texts, instead of as a statement that *Jason* was also translated in Haarlem. If this interpretation may remain dubious, the colophon puts it beyond doubt that the *Recueil* was translated in Haarlem, and thus probably in preparation for printing.[28]

This also brings us to the question of whether the *Jason* manuscript was produced primarily for use in a printing house. This deserves serious consideration: surveying all known printer's copy used in the fifteenth century reveals that there are enough such instances for the procedure to be if not common, at least not exceptional.[29] Even if many features of this modest manuscript indicate that it was primarily written for use in the printing house, the list of later owners shows that after having served as exemplar, it was later valued as a unique object (not least because of the drawings) or as a textual source.[30]

The second phase of textual correction in the manuscript was made in preparation for typesetting, when only a few substantive corrections were

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28   I noted, for example, in the Dutch *Recueil* the consistent use of the forms 'op', 'mer' 'doechdelik', 'ghenoechten', 'geboerde', 'vervollinghe', 'roepen'. The text of the colophon: '… En*de* dit boec is genoemt de ve*r*gaderinghe van troyen En*de* is inhoudende de gheheele hystorie van satur*nus* ende iupiter sijn soen … en*de* oec mede de gheheele hystorie vanden onuerwinliken ridder hercules … En*de* oec mede de gheheele hystorie van yason va*n* alle de wercken sijns levens tot in sijn eynde. Dit boec is getranslateert tot harlem in hollant wt den walsche in duytsche en*de* oec voldruct int iaer ons heren .m.cccc. ende lxxxv. opten vijften dach in meye'. (This book is entitled the collection of Troy and includes the entire history of Saturn and of Jupiter his son … and also of the invincible knight Hercules … and also the entire history of Jason and all his works during his life until its end. This book is translated in Haarlem in Holland from the French into Dutch, and its printing completed in the year of Our Lord 1485, on the fifth of May).

29   See the introduction on printer's copy, pp. 39–40.

30   I have relegated a list of early owners of Add MS 10290 to Appendix II, since this information is largely irrelevant to the theme of the present study.

made.[31] One of these is a deletion on fol. 9ᵛ which responds to the presentation of a scene in the woodcut, and therefore belongs to copy preparation in the printing house. In the passage which describes the kidnap of the beautiful bride Ypodanie, the giant centaur Euricus whisks her off 'sur ses espaulles' in the French version. In the manuscript the words 'vp sijn scouderen' ('on his shoulders') are struck through. In the drawing (on fol. 9ʳ in the manuscript) Ypodanie is carried on the centaur's back like a heavy sack, her arms slung over his shoulders, but in the woodcut Ypodanie stands firmly on her feet. The deletion seems to have been a quick adjustment made after it was noticed that this was not how the scene was illustrated. Instead of interaction between artist and scribe we see here the editor's or printer's response to the woodcut, which must have been available before typesetting began.

There are only a few other textual corrections which belong to the phase of copy preparation. A hand not seen earlier wrote an interlinear addition on fol. 40ᵛ, and some marginal corrections on fol. 145ʳ are written in yet another hand. They all appear in print. Copy-editing of the text does not appear to have been a formal phase in the production, and this may be taken as another argument favouring the notion that the text was indeed written in preparation for typesetting.

The Printer

In attempting to understand the nature of any manuscript that was either commissioned or procured by a printer for him to use, the printer deserves to be a focus of attention.

Jacob Bellaert, the printer who used the *Jason* manuscript as printer's copy, conducted a printing business in Haarlem for less than three years, from December 1483 until August 1486. In this short period he produced a steady stream of 16 substantial and sometimes spectacular books in Dutch and two in French.[32] Several of them were Dutch versions of texts which belonged to the courtly literature of the dukes of Burgundy: apart from the two texts by Raoul Lefèvre, Bellaert published a translation of Pierre Michault, *Le doctrinal du temps présent*,[33] and a translation of two other works which were also popular

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31   For textual variants introduced by compositors, see pp. 344–347 below.

32   Listed in ILC, pp. 496–497.

33   Translated as *Doctrinael des tijts*, ISTC im00567500, ILC 1589, GW M23349.

in those circles, Guillaume de Digulleville, *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*,[34] and Frère Laurent, *Somme le Roi, ou Livre des vices et des vertus*.[35] Other publications by Bellaert also belonged to traditions which were 'alien' to the county of Holland, among them Otto von Passau, *Der goldene Thron oder Die vierundzwanzig Alten*,[36] and Jacobus de Theramo, *Consolatio peccatorum, seu Processus Belial*,[37] along with some texts which are part of the canon of Dutch devotional literature. There are unusual signs indicating that before those years, Bellaert had worked for Gheraert Leeu in Gouda. In Leeu's edition of the Dutch prose version of Reynard the Fox, published in 1479 and later translated by Caxton,[38] the ram Bellijn is renamed 'Bellaert', and the small town of Zierikzee in Zeeland, Jacob Bellaert's birthplace, is referred to as a seat of learning.[39] Later, his links with Leeu's larger and more enduring business are evident in a more conventional manner. Even shortly before its introduction by Leeu himself Bellaert used a fresh casting of one of his new printing types, and for his first publication, a reprint of Leeu's edition of *Liden ende passie Ons Heren* (The Passion of Our Lord), Leeu lent him a set of woodcuts.[40]

Leeu, who had started his printing business in 1477, had first concentrated on producing books in Dutch, competently but plainly executed. After a few years he introduced with spectacular success a new element into his books, illustrating them lavishly with woodcuts; obviously he had found a talented designer and woodcutter. At the same time he began to venture into printing in Latin. Between 1480 and 1484 he published about a dozen illustrated works, including reprints, for once an investment in woodcuts was made it was best to use them as often as possible. Leeu's most outstanding success was his sequence of publications of the *Dialogus creaturarum*, a text of the fourteenth century originating from the environs of Milan, which until the printed editions of the 1480s was little known, if at all, in northwestern Europe. Leeu's successive publications of the *Dialogus* in Latin, Dutch, and French were richly illustrated

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34   Translated as *Boek van den pelgrim*, ISTC ig00638000, ILC 1136, GW 11851.

35   Translated as *Des conincs summe*, ISTC il00090000, ILC 1413, GW M17243.

36   Translated as *Boeck des gulden throens*, ISTC i000125000, ILC 1675, GW M28517.

37   Translated as *Der sonderen troest*, ISTC ij00072000, ILC 1304, GW M11118. The work had been published in Latin by Gheraert Leeu in 1481, ISTC ij00068000, ILC 1303, GW M11049.

38   ISTC ir00135800, ILC 1859, GW 12725.

39   Bellaert identifed himself in the colophon of his Dutch-language edition of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (24 December 1485, ISTC ib00142000, ILC 349, GW 3423, BMC IX, p. 102) as 'Meester IACOP BELLAERT gheboren van zerixzee' (born in Zierikzee).

40   The printing type is Leeu's Type 4, in 'Dutch' style. ILC 1452, ISTC il00213300, GW M29679, PT Plates 141–142. Bellaert used 32 woodcuts of the series Kok 74 (Kok, vol. I, p. 175).

with 121 woodcuts of the arguing creatures which contributed much to the book's appeal and were widely copied and imitated.[41]

In 1483–1484 Leeu prepared to expand into an international market.[42] In 1484 he left Gouda and set up his printing house in Antwerp, which had just then begun its ascent as one of the most successful trading centres of Western Europe, offering the printer better access to the wider world. Here he began to concentrate on Latin, although he never entirely abandoned the Dutch language. For what follows it is significant, however, that Leeu had apparently contemplated moving to Bruges, for in 1484 he is recorded as having joined the guild of St John—or of the 'librariers'—membership of which was obligatory to all who were engaged in any form of book trade or book production in Bruges.[43] Leeu must have had connections in this ancient centre of manuscript production.

It can hardly be a coincidence that Jacob Bellaert, a printer affiliated to Leeu, as is evident from the use of his printing type and woodcuts, launched a pro- gramme of publishing Dutch texts with ambitious illustrations while based in a town in Holland, precisely when Leeu chose a new base in Antwerp. Bellaert's business in Haarlem appears to have been an extension of Leeu's, enjoying his support. Following the model set by Leeu, Bellaert may even have surpassed him when he found an artist, now known as the Bellaert Master, working in an elaborate and very lively style, as well as a woodcutter who was able to use the medium fluently.[44] After using Leeu's woodcuts in his first publication, the *Liden ende passie Ons Heren*, new and striking woodcuts appear in most of his books, none more successful than the illustrations designed for the two texts by Raoul Lefèvre.[45] He commissioned from the Bellaert Master one full-page and 20 half-page woodcuts illustrating the *Historie van Jason*, and another 25 for

41   Kok 70. 1–120 and vol. I, pp. 157–161. In the most recent study of the *Dialogus creaturarum*, Eberhard König surmises that Leeu worked from a manuscript originating in Northern Italy, and that this belonged to an early phase of the transmission of the text and its illustra- tions. He also listed the still extant manuscripts of the *Dialogus*, none originating closer to Gouda than southern Germany. See his *Streitgespräch der Geschöpfe: Le dyalogue des crea- tures, Das von Colard Mansion für Lodewijk van Gruuthuse übersetzte Fabel-Manuskript von 1482 mit 121 Miniaturen von zwei Brügger Meistern* (Bibermühle, 2012), pp. 17–19, 25.

42   See the study of Leeu's edition of Marco Polo, pp. 283–287.

43   J. Weale, 'Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges', *Le Beffroi*, 4 (1872–1873), pp. 239–337 (p. 310): under 'Rekeninge van Willem de Brouwere als dekene. 1484': 'Van incomende gildebroeders ende ghildesusters ende leerkinderen … Meester Gherart Leeu, prenter, wonende ter Gouwe xii g'.

44   Kok, vol. I, pp. 358–359.

45   Kok 160. 1–21, 162. 1–25.

the Dutch translation of the *Recueil*, where most of the *Jason* woodcuts could also be used again.[46] All the woodcuts reappeared in the French editions of the two texts in 1486, and the *Jason* woodcuts are later found to have been used by Gheraert Leeu in Antwerp for his reprint of Caxton's English version.[47]

The present study is focused on the Dutch and the French versions of Raoul Lefèvre's *l'Histoire de Jason*, which is, of course, closely connected with his *Recueil des histoires de Troie*, also published by Bellaert in Dutch and French. I shall demonstrate below that as exemplar for his editions in French of both texts, Bellaert used copies of the editions of the original French versions of *Jason* and *Recueil*, which were printed in Flanders c. 1474 (*Recueil*) and c. 1477 (*Jason*), neither of which was illustrated.[48] Much of the background of the two earlier books remains speculative in the absence of any form of imprint, but Bellaert's later connection with them may perhaps suggest something about his unknown antecedents. As a publishing venture they are plausibly connected with William Caxton, who translated both texts into English. Recently I have discussed various indications that the scribe David Aubert, in partnership with Caxton, may have been involved in their printing, perhaps even being mainly responsible for the production of the two versions in French; also, whereas Bruges was traditionally taken to be the place of their printing, Ghent was at least as likely a place for their publication as Bruges, on the grounds that from 1475 Aubert produced manuscripts in Ghent for Caxton's patroness, Margaret of York, to whom the English translation of the *Recueil* was dedicated. The evidence traditionally used as the basis for ascribing their production to Colard Mansion in Bruges is demonstrably spurious. In conclusion, I suggested that in bibliographical terms it would be correct to leave the question undecided, and to designate the three editions, the English *Recuyell* and the French *Jason* and *Recueil*, as having been printed in 'Flanders, possibly Ghent'.[49] Caxton's publication of the English translation of *Jason* followed in 1477, in Westminster.[50]

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46   The woodcuts are listed in Appendix I.

47   Duff 246; ILC 1418, BMC IX, p. 214.

48   For bibliographical identification of these editions, see n. 2 above.

49   For arguments casting doubt on bibliographically assigning the two French books to Bruges, see Hellinga, 'William Caxton, Colard Mansion' (n. 10 above). Regarding the connections between Caxton, Margaret of York, David Aubert, and Raoul Lefèvre's *Jason* and *Recueil* I discussed in this publication, it should be added that David Aubert is now generally considered the scribe of the French-language manuscript of *L'histoire de Jason*, now Paris, BnF, ms fr. 331. Cf. below, n. 59.

50   For the dramatic circumstantial evidence contributing to the dating '1477' for the French and English *Jason* editions see above p. 307, n. 8–9. When Leeu reprinted *Jason* in

Since Bellaert used the 'Flemish' editions of the two Lefèvre texts in French as printer's copy, we can be certain that a copy of each of the two books was in Bellaert's hands by 1486, the year he published them. It seems likely that these French-language copies had first served as the text from which the translator worked, wherever that took place, but before 1485, when the Dutch versions were published.[51] His identity is unknown. As we have seen above in the description of the Dutch *Jason* manuscript, corrections in the early part of the manuscript indicate that some pain was taken to eliminate a few characteristics of his spelling which are usually identified as Flemish. Perhaps we may speculate as to whether Jacob Bellaert himself may have been the translator. Hailing from the town of Zierikzee, his own idiom and habits of spelling would have shared many characteristics with those of Flemish scribes;[52] a few such characteristics found in the Dutch manuscript of *Jason* even survived a corrector's scrutiny to appear in print. If Bellaert was indeed the translator, we might recognise in him the pattern set by the literarily gifted scribes and printers, of which William Caxton, Colard Mansion, and probably Bellaert's former master and associate Gheraert Leeu are eminent examples. One further possible characteristic of Bellaert has come to light during the present investigation. When comparing the two editions of the *Jason* text in French and establishing their relation as exemplar and printed result (see below), it is remarkable that the compositor was able to manipulate the French text with considerable freedom and ease whenever he had to resort to copy-fitting. He was obviously thoroughly at home with the French language, if not actually bilingual. Since Bellaert had been in Gheraert Leeu's employ, he was probably taking active part in the business as a compositor, unlike 'printers' like William Caxton, who as leaders of an enterprise had a completely different role. Part of the excellent typesetting of Bellaert's books may well have been done by Bellaert himself. Perhaps we should be allowed to guess that before joining Leeu's business, Bellaert had experienced the bilingual cities of Flanders and seen some of their literary culture close up. It is a spidery line, too fragile for supporting a theory, but one to be noticed nevertheless.

English in 1492 he included Caxton's warm dedication to Edward, Prince of Wales, apparently unaware that meanwhile the dedicatee, still in 'his tendre iongth', had disappeared, allegedly murdered.

51   See n. 28 above for the place of the Dutch translation of the *Recueil*, and uncertainty regarding where Jason was translated.

52   See n. 26 above.

The Jason Master and the Printers

I have listed the drawings in both manuscripts and the corresponding woodcuts in Bellaert's editions of Lefèvre's texts in Appendix I. Examination of the two manuscripts in the codex Add MS 10290 has indubitably shown that in both manuscripts the drawings were there before the text. The beginning of it all is therefore with the artist. In the literature about him, all of which is recent, the *Jason* manuscript has received much more attention than that of the *Scaecspel*. When the drawings attracted the attention of several art historians, who now rate the artist highly, they designated him as 'the Jason Master'.[53] Some of their considerations are stylistic, discussing possible models, and the relation to other artists, to illuminated manuscripts of the two texts by Raoul Lefèvre, and to the woodcuts in Bellaert's editions. They have all examined the drawings by the Jason Master without taking account of the material aspects of the two manuscripts in which they appear, and therefore missed the priority of drawings over text, and its implications.

A considerable advance was made when in 1990 James Marrow and Wilhelmina Wüstefeld ascribed without reservations the drawings in *Jason* and

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53   In the exhibition catalogue Henri L.M. Defoer etc. (eds.), *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting* (New York, 1990), with an introduction by James Marrow, Wilhelmina C.M. Wüstefeld contributed a discussion of the drawings in the section on artists connected with Haarlem, pp. 233, 239, and Pl. 79, Fig. 133. This section begins with a concise description of Add MS 10290. Wüstefeld ascribes the pen drawings in *Het Scaecspel* to the same anonymous artist known as the Jason Master, whom she rates as 'a superb artist, the most gifted of the Haarlem group'. There is no direct evidence that the manuscript was produced in Haarlem, and it is doubtful whether the activity of the Jason Master should be localised there. There are no obvious stylistic features which justify ascribing to him the painted miniatures in three Books of Hours which are firmly documented as produced in Haarlem (*The Golden Age*, no. 80). Other art history studies regarding the Dutch Jason manuscript are by Anne H. van Buren (1979), see n. 55 below; James Marrow listed the *Jason* and *Scaecspel* manuscripts as including works by the Jason Master in a footnote, in 'Prolegomena to a New Descriptive Catalogue of Dutch Illuminated Manuscripts', in Elly Cockx-Indestege and Frans Hendrickx (eds.), *Miscellanea Neerlandica: Opstellen voor Dr Jan Deschamps* (Louvain, 1987), pp. 295–309 (p. 296, n. 3). I have not seen his *Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue of Dutch Manuscripts* (Doornspijk, 1990). Nieuwstraten, 'Overlevering en verandering' (see n. 15 above), is focused on the relation between the drawings and the woodcuts but eventually leaves undecided the question of whether the drawings were the direct models for the cuts. Diane Scillia, 'The Jason Master and the Woodcut Designers in Holland, 1480–5', *Dutch Crossing*, 39 (1989), pp. 5–15, interestingly perceives a connection between the Jason Master and woodcuts made for Gheraert Leeu, a connection rejected by Nieuwstraten, 'Overlevering en verandering'. See also pp. 331–332.

Scaecspel to the same artist, the Jason Master.[54] For the illustration of *Scaecspel*, a text much older than *Jason* and one with a widely dispersed dissemination, the artist could draw on any of several iconographic traditions which existed in parallel, although the subject matter of the text ensured that the images were confined to persons, king, queen, etc., representing pieces of the chessboard. Jacobus de Cessolis's book was not as intimately connected to the court of Burgundy as Lefèvre's text, but it was also widely owned in these circles. If the Flemish ateliers producing manuscripts were part of the training of the Jason Master or had any influence on him, models for the illustration of *Scaecspel* would have been easily available.

For the drawings illustrating the *Historie van Jason* the artist paid close attention to the narrative as presented in the textual source available to him, but was also guided by models which already existed for the history of the Golden Fleece, even before the foundation of the Order by Philip the Good in 1430. One such model, dated c. 1455, is discussed by Anne van Buren in an extensive article in which she lifted the veil on several intriguing connections.[55] It is a set of ink drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, preserved as six separate pieces of parchment, which once formed part of a much longer roll depicting scenes of the history of the Golden Fleece in its most extensive form.[56]

There are more spidery-thin lines emerging which may link the drawings in the *Jason* manuscript to the southern Low Countries and to traditions long established there. These thin lines are formed by the iconographic tradition of the history of the Golden Fleece, traced by Anne van Buren from her point of departure, the Berlin roll, which she identified as a staging post in a much longer iconographical tradition, one expressed in paintings, tapestries, tableaux at festivities, and eventually in manuscripts. The trail begins in the late fourteenth century with the decorations of a pleasure building in the grounds of the castle of Hesdin (in Artois, in the northwest corner of France) which was owned by Duke Philip the Bold, grandfather of Philip the Good. Around 1390 Philip commissioned the painter Melchior Broederlam to decorate its walls with what appears to have been an elaborate frieze depicting the history of Jason and the Golden Fleece. Forty years later his grandson, Duke Philip the Good, ordered the paintings to be refurbished, and the waterworks, which were one of the attractions of the building, and the grounds were to be extended

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54 In Defoer, *The Golden Age*, see no. 53 above.

55 Anne Hagopian van Buren, 'The Model Roll of the Golden Fleece', *The Art Bulletin*, 61 (1979), pp. 359–376.

56 Van Buren, 'The Model Roll', p. 367.

with fountains and weather machines. A generation later, William Caxton visited, and described in the prologue to his own translation of the history of Jason what he saw:

> … well wote I that the noble Duc Philippe, firste foundeur of this sayd ordre [of the Golden Fleece], dyd doo maken a chambre in the castell of Hesdyn wherein was craftyly and curiously depeynted the conqueste of the Golden Flese by the sayd Jason; in which chambre I have ben and seen the sayde historie so depeynted. And in remembraunce of Medea and of her connyng and science, he had do make in the sayde chambre by subtil engyn that, whan he wolde, it shuld seme that it lightend and then thondre, snowe and rayne; and all within the sayde chambre as ofetymes and whan it shuld please him, which was al made for his singuler pleasir …[57]

Hesdin has other associations with productions of the Jason text. Raoul Lefèvre is recorded in April 1461 as a witness to a will drawn up by Jean de Créquy, where his status is specified as 'prestre du chateau de Fressin'. This castle, a residence of Jean de Créquy, was situated three miles from Hesdin.[58] Lefèvre was undoubtedly acquainted with the murals and related works at the castle. Hesdin is also the birthplace of the scribe David Aubert, son of one of Philip the Good's administrative officers. As a boy he must have enjoyed the magic and tricks of the pleasure garden, and in later life he would have remembered the wall paintings, for later in life Lefèvre's *History of Jason* crossed his path several times. Aubert served the same master as Raoul Lefèvre—the Picardian nobleman Jean de Créquy, before he (and perhaps both) came to serve Philip the Good. The most beautiful of the manuscripts of *l'Histoire de Jason*, illuminated by Lieven van Lathem and owned by Loys de Gruuthuse, has in recent years been ascribed to Aubert's hand.[59] It appears that through a common

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57   William Caxton, Prologue to his English translation of *l'Histoire de Jason*, Duff 245, BMC XI, pp. 107–108, here quoted from N.F. Blake, *Caxton's Own Prose* (London, 1973), p. 104, ll. 38–48.

58   Gil, 'Le mécénat littéraire', see n. 3 above, p. 75.

59   Paris, BnF, ms fr. 331. This spectacular manuscript features in many exhibition catalogues. It was not ascribed to David Aubert by L.J.M. Delaissé in his seminal catalogue *La miniature flamande, le mécénat de Philippe le Bon* (Brussels, 1959), no. 158, nor by Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse, Mecenas en Europees diplomaat, c. 1427–1492* (Bruges, 1992), pp. 115–116. It is not included in a list of David Aubert's oeuvre by Richard E.F. Straub,

ancestor several of its miniatures are collaterally connected with the drawings of the Jason Master. I have proposed that the printing of Lefèvre's two texts in French (c. 1474 and c. 1476) may have been supervised or led by Aubert when he was based in Ghent.[60] Is there an even thinner line connecting the Jason Master with the tradition with which David Aubert is intermittently connected? Such remnants of spidery lines—was there even a web?

Diane Scillia offered a further perspective in an interesting study focused on the relation between the drawings of the Jason Master and woodcuts used by Gheraert Leeu in the years 1480–1484, when they became a prominent feature in his publications.[61] Scillia drew a careful distinction between the 'design' (using an anachronistic term) by an artist and the execution of the design by a craftsman, the woodcutter. She judged that in the early years in Gouda the execution—perhaps by more than one craftsman—was often mediocre and failed to do justice to the design, in which she nevertheless recognised the talented hand of the Jason Master. Specifically, she recognised in some of the woodcuts the same figures as encountered in the Jason master's drawings: 'clear and undeniable'. She singled out the woodcuts in Leeu's Dutch version of Pierre

David Aubert, escripvain et clerc (Amsterdam, 1995), nor by Pascale Charron and Marc Gil, 'Les enlumineurs des manuscrits de David Aubert', in Danielle Quéruel (ed.), *Les manuscrits de David Aubert, escripvain bourguignon* (Paris, 1999), pp. 81–100. But Ursula Baurmeister and Marie-Pierre Lafitte, *Des livres et des rois: La bibliotheque royale de Blois* (Paris, 1992), pp. 198–199, state it was written 'vers 1468' by David Aubert. All recent literature assigns it to David Aubert, whose oeuvre seems to grow apace in the hands of experts (so far not including a palaeographer). See Thomas Kren and Scott McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*: *The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles—London, 2003), no. 59. An extensive description in: Ilona Hans-Collas and Pascal Schandel (eds.), *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux I: manuscrits de Louis de Bruges* (Paris, 2009), pp. 79–82. They date the manuscript 'vers 1470'. A description by Thomas Kren in Bernard Bousmanne and Thierry Delcourt, *Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482* (Brussels, 2011), no. 68, deviates by assigning it to Antwerp, but copied by David Aubert, c. 1470. G. Pinkernell 'Die Handschrift B.N. Ms fr. 331 von Raoul Lefevres "Histoire de Jason" und das Wirken des Miniaturisten Lievin van Lathem in Brügge', *Scriptorium*, 27 (1973), pp. 295–301, argued that the manuscript was originally commissioned by Jean Wavrin before it was taken over by Gruuthuse. Wavrin died in 1471, and the manuscript should therefore be dated 'not before 1471', or 'c. 1472'. He did not identify the scribe. His argument for dating appears to be ignored in later literature.

60   See n. 49 above. David Aubert is now considered the scribe of the French-language manuscript of *L'histoire de Jason*, Paris, BnF ms fr. 331. See n. 59 above.

61   In *Dutch Crossing* (1989), see above n. 53. Nieuwstraten, 'Overlevering en verandering', p. 112, n. 5, rejects Scillia's hypothesis on stylistic grounds.

FIGS. 12.6A–B *Young Jason in the drawing by the Jason Master and the little prince in the woodcut in Gheraert Leeu's edition (1480) of* Historia septem sapientium Romae *seem closely related. BL, Add MS 10290(I), fol 3ᵛ (detail) © The British Library Board. The detail of the woodcut is copied from* Le cinquième centenaire de l'imprimerie dans les Anciens Pays-Bas *(Brussels, 1973), p. 291.*

Michault, *Les trois aveugles* of 1482,[62] and she noted that the child groom in Leeu's *Vanden seven sacramenten* of 1484[63] could be the younger brother of the patron (Philip the Good) in the frontispiece of the *Jason* manuscript (see Fig. 12.1).

I agree with this observation, and should wish to add the resemblance of Jason as a child (on fol. 3ᵛ of the manuscript) to the woodcut of the young prince in the *Historia septem sapientium Romae*,[64] one of Leeu's earliest illustrations, which is undated but was probably published in the first half of 1480. On the

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62   Dated 9 August 1482, ILC 1587.

63   Dated 19 June 1484, ILC 1903.

64   ILC 1952. Kok 69. 1, also illustrated in the exhibition catalogue *Le cinquième centenaire de l'imprimerie dans les anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1973), Ill. 63 (cat. 127).

basis of this interpretation and the scarce certainties, the Jason Master has to have been located in Gouda instead of Haarlem.

If the Jason Master was an artist who was regularly working for Leeu as the designer of his woodcuts in the period 1480–1484, before the printer moved his business from Gouda to Antwerp, we can perceive the production of the two manuscripts of *Jason* and *Scaecspel* not as an incidental event, but as part of a publishing programme. There are ample grounds to surmise that Leeu's planning eventually led to the establishment of Bellaert's printing house in Haarlem with the purpose of continuing and concentrating on one aspect of the production Leeu had started in Gouda. Leeu provided him with materials, which evidently remained his property: woodcuts are found to have been in his possession after Bellaert's business had ceased. In 1479, before he could produce woodcuts, Leeu had published two books in Dutch which were closely related to the texts copied and illustrated in manuscripts: Guido de Columna's version of the history of Troy, preceded by the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece, and Jacobus de Cessolis, *Scaecspel*.[65] Publishing these works again within a few years, even embellished with illustrations, would have been too soon, but he may well have intended their publication from the two manuscripts at a later date—as it turned out, not until the new branch was established. The two texts fitted perfectly in the programme of the Haarlem enterprise, attractively illustrated editions of texts with a foreign origin.[66] A new edition of the *Scaecspel* was not realised, possibly because it had been reprinted—albeit for a market in the eastern part of the Dutch-speaking area—by Johannes de Vollenhoe in Zwolle, who also printed an abbreviated version in quarto.[67] But the investment in woodcuts for the two texts by Lefèvre was fully exploited with the two editions in French following the Dutch versions. Ownership of Leeu's books, in so far as survival permits and is recorded, shows that by the 1480s he began to have an eye for markets beyond the Dutch-language area, well before he settled in Antwerp in 1484.[68] His French-language edition of the *Dialogus creaturarum*, dated 20 April 1482[69] and exploiting a large and very successful set of woodcuts, must have been destined for the partly bilingual Southern Netherlands, where one of the *Dialogus* editions in Latin became a

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65   ILC 608, dated 4 June 1479, and ILC 553, dated 2 October 1479. Leeu's Troy book spans the history of Troy from Jason to Aeneas; it was divided into 35 books, the first three of which cover the history of Jason and the Golden Fleece.

66   See pp. 323–324 below for a list of some of Bellaert's publications of translations into Dutch.

67   ILC 552 and 555. About the dating of these editions, see n. 20 above.

68   More about this in the essay on his edition of Marco Polo, see pp. 299–300 above.

69   ILC 713.

source for two manuscripts in French produced by Colard Mansion in Bruges. In this respect Leeu's French *Dialogus creaturarum* can be seen as a precursor to the two French-language editions of Lefèvre by Bellaert. Thus it is that the *Jason* manuscript and its drawings may bring us close to Gheraert Leeu's strategical planning as publisher as well as to Jacob Bellaert's printing house practices.

The Dutch *Jason* Manuscript as Printer's Copy

Many questions remain unanswered about the precise origins of the manuscript and its brief history before it was handed over to compositors. From then on there are unambiguous traces which guide us to what happened to it in the printing house.

The relation between the manuscript exemplar and Jacob Bellaert's edition of *De historie van Jason*[70] was the subject of my PhD thesis in 1974.[71] My investigation took place after the seminal publications of William Bond and Charlton Hinman had opened our eyes to the method of setting by formes from counted-off copy, as applied by printers in England in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period.[72] Its general application by English printers of the sixteenth century was confirmed in 1972 by Philip Gaskell in his *A New Introduction to Bibliography*,[73] where he added that in England the production usually took place working from the inner forme outwards. A logical consequence was the question of whether a similar method of production could be detected in the printing of incunabula in the final decades of the fifteenth century. For earlier printing there could be hardly any doubt that the normal procedure was seriatim setting. The survival of a manuscript marked up as printer's copy for use in 1485 by Jacob Bellaert in Haarlem offered an opportunity to investigate the order in which it was set and printed. Early printing in the Low Countries had at that time been my main area of research. A focus for my analysis of the relation between copy and print was the question of whether the compositors' markings could reveal the production methods of Jacob Bellaert's printing house.

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70 ILC 1417; ISTC il00111000, GW M17467. I worked mainly with photocopies of the copy Paris BnF, Rés. Y². 349, CIBN L-88. Comparison with the only other extant copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Goff L-111, did not reveal variants between the copies.

71 See n. 1 above.

72 Bond, 'Casting off copy', pp. 281–291. Hinman, 'Cast-off copy', pp. 259–273. Hinman, *Printing and Proof-reading*. See above p. 43, n. 23, pp. 48–49.

73 Gaskell, *New Introduction*, p. 127.

A large part of my study concentrated on the interpretation of what turned out to be an intricate pattern of copy-fitting, in which two distinct compositors were guided by the structure of the text, which was divided into chapters, most chapters headed by a half-page woodcut. My conclusion was that setting was certainly not seriatim, but that setting by formes in this case did not lead to a regular pattern of production from outer to inner formes or vice versa. The irregularity of the compositors' progress through the text, quire after quire, was a vivid demonstration of Don McKenzie's argument, equally topical at the time, that theoretical reconstruction of printing house procedures can be proved to be oversimplified when confronted with independent documentary sources.[74]

Although I spent much effort on unravelling the order of typesetting of Bellaert's book and explained it at length, I also gave attention to the considerable textual variation from manuscript to print. The substantive variants could partly be understood as copy-fitting, but comparison of the two sources showed that there was also a fairly constant process of slight textual intervention which did not seem to have anything to do with solving problems of either too much or too little space. I also noted corrections in the early part of the manuscript and respelling in the edition which clearly aimed to adapt the text from usage associated with Flanders to spelling forms conventional in the northwestern part of the Netherlands, in Haarlem, where the text was printed. Finally, I noted the parallel between the remarkable washed pen drawings in the manuscript and the no less remarkable woodcuts in the printed book, the same in number and placed at the heads of the same chapters, without hazarding an excursion into art history territory.

The context in which I am now inclined to view the production of the *Historie van Jason* by Bellaert has not only widened, but my interest has somewhat shifted from a preoccupation with the order of typesetting to the development of the text as it can be observed here. The spatial limitations imposed by the non-seriatim typesetting affected the text, but a process of textual intervention was taking place independently and at the same time. This has to be linked to the question of the origin of the translation, and the Dutch manuscript as its sole witness. Unlike my previous study, I now include in my considerations Bellaert's editions of the two texts in French given the same layout and published a year later. A later exploration showed beyond doubt that copies of

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74   D.F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, 22 (1969), pp. 1–75.

FIG. 12.7A   *Casting-off mark between ll. 9 and 10, and actual page-end marked in-text in l. 8,*
               mark in the manuscript the transition from fol. I5^b to I6^a. BL, Add MS 10290, fol. 133^v
               (detail, ll. 5–11).

FIG. 12.7B   *Bellaert's edition, bottom lines of page I5^b. Washington, DC, Library of Congress,*
               Rosenwald Collection (EP) 52, Goff L-111.

the printed versions in French, traditionally connected with Caxton, were the
printer's copy for Bellaert's French editions of the texts in 1486.[75]

Therefore, in the present essay I shall not present an English version of
the extensive and fully documented analysis of the order of typesetting which
was a substantial part of my Dutch thesis of 1974, but confine myself to a few
examples. I do not disown the results of that study but refer to them, and
include the schematic overview of the marking up of the manuscript in relation
to the printed book as a record of the basis of my argument (see Tables 1 and 2
below).

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75   See pp. 347–360 below.

The Typesetting of the *Historie van Jason*

Throughout the manuscript we can observe horizontal strokes placed between lines, with intervals of 26 lines for the first three quires of the printed book to 30 lines for the final three; occasionally there are also crosses placed between lines. On some pages traces of counting, two lines at a time, are visible as little horizontal dashes on the left-hand side of lines. Counting lines was undoubtedly the basis for the casting off, but there are irregularities, and it was not carried out with great precision. On the final 20 leaves there are also curly signs which correspond to verso pages in the printed book, and a few large figures which correspond to leaves within the last two quires. A few consistent differences in spelling confirm that for the final quires a different compositor took over. Throughout there are intermittently short vertical strokes between words or parts of words. They must have been made at different times: the marks between lines are casting off before typesetting; the in-text vertical stroke marks were made by compositors to indicate where in the text they had finished setting a page.

For my analysis of the relation between manuscript exemplar and print I started with surveying the marks made in the printing house for casting off. The marks are arranged according to the quires in the edition (see Table 1).

This first survey shows that the final page of each quire was marked only once, in quire K, the first of the two shorter quires of six leaves. This means that for all other quires the compositor was not expected to end them at a predetermined point. From this observation we may conclude that there was no division of the exemplar for concurrent production of two sections of copy, and that quires were set one after the other. It also follows that casting off of the exemplar seems to have been done a quire at a time.

In a second survey (Table 2) I recorded the places where the compositor ended pages according to casting off, and those where he did not and was therefore 'free' to end the page. This was invariably at the ends of both the first page and the final page of the quire—and a variety of pages in between. The two pages at the middle of each quire (8 and 9 in the quires with eight leaves, 6 and 7 in the six-leaf quires) were without exception 'free' and apparently always set consecutively. There are 22 pages which are marked in Survey II with □, signifying 'no evidence', because on these pages a chapter ended, leaving a blank space, most of them followed on the next page by a woodcut at the top of the page.[76]

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76   On page F5^b chapter 14 ends, leaving some space, but the following chapter is not headed

TABLE 1   *Survey 1: pages cast off in the manuscript for quires in the printed book.*
Legenda: ×: end of page cast off; –: end of page not cast off; ○: leaf wanting in the
exemplar. Collation: a bB C–I⁸ K L⁶, in-fol., 84 leaves. Pages a1ᵃ and L6ᵇ are blank.

| Page | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
Fol.	1ᵃ	1ᵇ	2ᵃ	2ᵇ	3ᵃ	3ᵇ	4ᵃ	4ᵇ	5ᵃ	5ᵇ	6ᵃ	6ᵇ	7ᵃ	7ᵇ	8ᵃ	8ᵇ
a⁸	–	–	×	×	×	–	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–
bB⁸	–	×	×	×	×	×	–	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–
C⁸	–	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–
D⁸	–	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–
E⁸	–	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	–
F⁸	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–
G⁸	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–
H⁸	–	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–	×	×	×	×	×	–
I⁸	×	×	×	×	×	×	–	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	–
page			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
K⁶			×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
L⁶			–	×	×	×	×	–	×	×	×	×	–	–		

The second survey confirms that casting off took place per quire, followed by setting that quire before the next quire was started, for at the end of each quire the compositor was not obliged to finish a page at the predetermined point. We may interpret the course of action as follows: within the setting of quires the first outer forme (pages 1 and 16) was routinely the first to be set; after setting page 1 the following 15 pages were counted out, and page 16 was set. In quire K, consisting of six leaves instead of eight, the first outer forme consisted of pages 1 and 12. Quire L, as the final quire, had different complications, for its final recto has very little text and Bellaert's large printer's device, and the final verso is blank. From the two surveys a pattern now begins to emerge that suggests that setting indeed took place by formes, working from the first outer forme inwards. If this were a regular pattern, one would expect all of the pages of the second half of the quire to conform to the casting off, because the final page of the quire (belonging to the first outer forme) would already have been

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by a woodcut. On a7ᵃ, B3ᵃ, and F7ᵇ, the fourth, fifth, and sixteenth chapters begin on the page where the previous chapter ended, and do not have woodcuts.

TABLE 2   *Survey II: compositors and casting-off. Legenda: =: compositor follows casting-off; ≠: compositor is free to end the page; □: end of chapter followed by blank space or page; W: woodcut; ○: leaf wanting in the exemplar.*

Page	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Fol.	1ᵃ	1ᵇ	2ᵃ	2ᵇ	3ᵃ	3ᵇ	4ᵃ	4ᵇ	5ᵃ	5ᵇ	6ᵃ	6ᵇ	7ᵃ	7ᵇ	8ᵃ	8ᵇ
a⁸	□	W	=	W≠	≠	□	W≠	≠	□	W	=	=	=	≠	≠	≠
bB⁸	≠	≠	≠	=	≠	≠	□	W≠	=	≠	=	=	□	≠	=	□
C⁸	W≠	=	≠	=	≠	□	W=	≠	≠	□	W=	≠	=	=	=	≠
D⁸	≠	≠	≠	=	≠	□	W≠	≠	≠	≠	=	□	W≠	≠	=	≠
E⁸	≠	≠	=	=	≠	=	≠	≠	≠	○	○W	≠	≠	≠	=	≠
F⁸	□	W=	≠	=	≠	□	W≠	≠	=	□	≠	≠	=	≠	≠	□
G⁸	W≠	=	=	=	≠	=	≠	≠	=	≠	≠	=	=	≠	□	W≠
H⁸	≠	=	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	□	W≠	≠	=	≠	=	≠
I⁸	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	□	W≠	≠	≠	=	=	=	=	□	W≠
page			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
fol.			1ᵃ	1ᵇ	2ᵃ	2ᵇ	3ᵃ	3ᵇ	4ᵃ	4ᵇ	5ᵃ	5ᵇ	6ᵃ	6ᵇ		
K⁶			≠	=	≠	≠	□	W≠	=	=	=	≠	=	≠		
L⁶			□	W≠	≠	=	≠	□	W≠	≠	=?	=	□	□		

set. The second survey shows, however, that in the second half of the quires there was not a consistent pattern resulting from a regular progress through the text. Even so, there is a clear distinction between the two halves of the quires overall, as can be established by counting occurrences of pages ending as cast off, as opposed to the page-endings deviating from casting off. The blank pages, pages with full-page woodcuts at beginning and end, and the pages ending a chapter (10 in the first half and 11 in the second) are, of course, not included in the count. The result is:

– first half of quires: 72 pages; of which ending as cast off, 19; not ending as cast off, 53; and
– second half of quires: 70 pages; of which ending as cast off, 33; not ending as cast off, 37.

The outcome—that in the second halves of the quire there are almost twice as many page-ends conforming to casting off—may indicate that there was an underlying pattern of printing by formes, working from the first outer forme towards the middle, possibly with a preference for completing sheets and for

setting text continuously where there was an opportunity to do so. Above all, what is clear is that there were many deviations from any such pattern.

When comparison of the casting off in the manuscript with the printed result shows that a compositor was 'free' to end a page, because the end of the page deviates from the casting off, only one interpretation is possible: the following page was not yet set. But where a page-ended as indicated by the casting off, it does not necessarily mean that the following page was already in type, although the chance is small that a compositor would stick to casting off if not obliged to do so by a previously set page. In the exemplar of *Jason*, the transition of columns was also marked, but of the 112 column ends thus marked, only two ended as cast off.

In reconstructing the order of typesetting of the quires, one feature of the compositors' marks is particularly helpful. Each compositor often placed a vertical stroke within the lines of text to mark where he had finished a page (for an example, see Fig. 12.7A, above). They never occur where the page-end coincides with the casting off, but only where the compositor was 'free' to end the page. They are found in 42 places in the text, but not in 48 other places where he was 'free'. The function of the strokes must have been to mark where typesetting had to be resumed after an interruption—either because typesetting first had to continue elsewhere in the quire in order to complete a forme, or an interval of time had passed, or for whatever other reason. Where typesetting was continuous, as in the middle pages of the inner formes (pages 8 and 9, or 6 and 7 in the last two quires), the strokes never occur. But with one exception (quire F) they are always found at the end of the first page, which supports the assumption that its setting was not followed by page 2, but that the conjugate page in the outer forme (page 16) always followed the first, page 1. At the end of the final pages of the quires the strokes are absent only in quires B and F.

Within the quires there are some other signs of copy-fitting, of the kind observed in other instances of surviving printer's copy. Only rarely did the compositor resort to extreme abbreviation, but we can see it in quire a in the last line of pages a6ᵇ and a7ᵃ:

Ms.: 11ᵛ, l. 21:   ghenouch te sien tende vā onser historiē ende vā desen
Ed. a6ᵇ, b, l. 38/39:   ghenough || te siē tende vā ōser hystoriē eñ vā desē

Ms.: 12ᵛ, l. 23:   zij in gheender mānierē ꝑsenterē en wil Ende om dat
Ed. a7ᵃ b, l. 38/39:   si || geendꝰ manierē cōsēterē en wil. eñ ōdʒ

TABLE 3   *The order of typesetting of quire D. Legenda: =: compositor follows casting off;*
             ≠: compositor is free to end the page; □: end of chapter followed by blank space.

Page:		Completed:
1 ≠ (ms: stroke at end) >	16 ≠	outer forme 1
2 ≠		
3 ≠ (ms: stroke at end)		
	13 (woodcut)	
	14 ≠	outer forme 2
	15 =	inner forme 1
5 ≠ >	12 □ (col. b, 7 lines)	outer forme 3
4 =		inner forme 2
7 ≠ (woodcut)		
8 ≠ (ed: 38 lines) >	9 ≠ (ed: 38 lines)	inner forme 4
10 ≠ (ms: stroke at end, ed: 38 lines)		outer forme 4
6 □ (col. b, 28 ll.) >	11 = (ed: 38 lines)	inner forme 3

More forethought is evident in the variation of the number of lines per page as a means of copy-fitting. In quire D the first page of the middle sheet has a woodcut, but its other three pages have 38 lines instead of the standard 39, as does page 11.

In the thesis of 1974 I explored all the factors which might have influenced the order of typesetting within the quires. I do not wish to repeat here this exercise in puzzle solving, but instead take only quire D as example (see above) and offer some general conclusions. When not taking account of the possibilities offered by the structure of the text, its chapter ends, and the half-page woodcut illustrations, the patterns of conforming to casting off and not conforming would seem to be endlessly variable. Experimentally, it appeared to be possible to find 93 different solutions for the order of typesetting of quire C. But a number of significant factors could be recognised in most of the quires. The factor overriding most other considerations is the reason why setting was taking place by formes, and not seriatim: the limitation of the supply of type. Obviously, the printer could not afford to have at least nine pages standing in type before he could begin printing the first (inner) sheet. The structure of the text with its half-page illustrations—sometimes preceded by chapter ends with less than fully filled pages—occurring at irregular intervals, must have led to ad hoc decisions. The woodcuts were calculated as equalling a column, or exactly half a page. The illustrations were carefully placed in the same place in the text as in
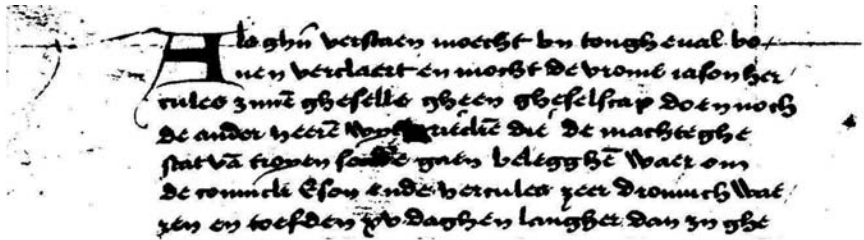
FIG. 12.8A   *The beginning of leaf L1 verso was cast off by marking it with a curly sign in the
margin. BL Add MS 10290, detail, fol. 152ᵛ, ll. 1–7.*
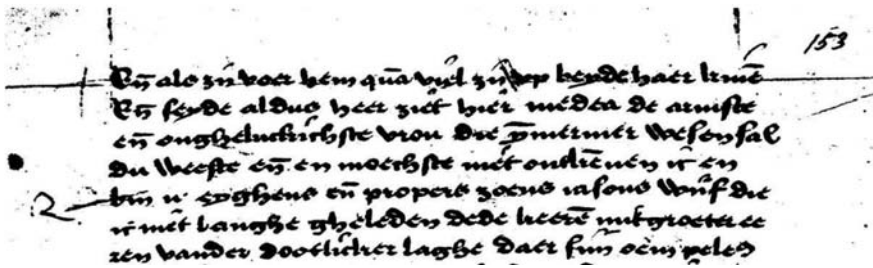
FIG. 12.8B   *The beginning of the following recto, leaf L2ᵃ, was cast off by marking it with a large
figure '2' in the margin, but the compositor ended the previous page 3½ lines higher,
marking the spot with a stroke in the line ('viel zij') and a large cross in the margin.
BL Add MS 10290, detail, fol. 153ʳ, ll. 1–7.*

the manuscript copy, but unlike the manuscript, they were always placed at
the top of the page. As a result, preceding pages were often not quite filled.
When a forme could be completed using a smaller amount of type than would
have been used when continuing in the order which now seems more sys-
tematic, it was apparently preferable to take the option that required less
type.

As a result, details of the order of typesetting within the quires varied. As
example I have taken quire D. In the proposed order of its typesetting, as shown
in Table 3 (p. 341), it can be seen that no more than four pages would be standing
in type before printing could begin. This applies also to the other quires I
investigated.

For quires K and L the casting off is less discreet than it had been in the
previous part of the manuscript: large figures (2, 3, 4, and 6) were written in the
margins, corresponding to leaves in the quires; large curly signs correspond to
the verso pages of the printed book. That here a second compositor was at work

Is ghi verstaen moccht
bi tongheual bouen ver
claert en mocht de wo⸗
me iaso hercules sine ge
selle geen geselscap doe
noch de ander here wt griekendie de
machtighe stat van tropen soude gae
beleggen waer om die coninc eson en
de hercules seer drocuich waren ende
toefden vijftien daghen langher dan
si geordineert hadden. Als de vijftie
dagen om waren en si gheen mare va
hem en hoerde schepde si wt die haue
daer si in lage en seplde so lange dz si
quame voer tropen mit so groten ghe
tale van volcke Dat niet teghenstaen
de de weer van leomedon en vant lät
en van al troninctrijc si en wonne tlant

.ende ten laesten si besprongen de stat
en wonnense in de forme ende manier
als wel int lange vclaert stact in de hif
torie vanden xij. arbeyden des wrome
hercules en als si dit opset ten epnde
ghebrocht hadde elc keerde tot sinen
lande

Als de coninc ezon van mirmido⸗
nien gekcert was van tropen was hy
seer verstoert dat sijn soen iason ghe⸗
mist had te come tot dier eerliker rep⸗
se Medea die noch niet ghecomen en
was in mirmidonien sint vat si va dair
ginc op den properen dach dat si pele
us had doen sterue als gesept is qua
doe tot den coninck eson al otuerwet
en onghedaen en al haer clederen ge
schoert En als si voer hē quam viel si op

is confirmed by some contrasting spelling habits: for example, where the first compositor spelled 'iason', the second spelled 'yason'.[77] His setting was more compressed, for he averaged 30 lines of copy per column of print.

To sum up: Casting off took place a quire at a time. Lines were counted after the first page was set, which allowed for setting the final page of the quire after the first. There was therefore a tendency to set by formes, working from the outer forme towards the middle of the quire, but this was never done systematically; where the structure of the text—specifically the woodcuts preceded by pages with less text—offered the opportunity of completing formes with less type, this was preferred. The compositor also preferred to set pages continuously where possible, as, for example, in the middle forme of the quires. Where he was free to end a page, he always deviated from casting off, often by setting more text than had been calculated.[78] When he completed a page deviating from the casting-off and would not set the following page immediately afterwards, he marked the place in the text with a little vertical stroke. No more than four pages would be standing in type at the same time waiting to be combined as formes and printed.

The Exemplar's Text in the Hands of the Compositors

Collation of manuscript and print shows that the Middle Dutch text as printed deviates in many ways from its exemplar. The manuscript lacks all punctuation, indicating the beginning of sentences with a capital, whereas the printed book has full points to separate sentences, not always followed by a capital. A few times the full point marks the beginning of a sentence at the beginning of a line, instead of marking the end of the previous sentence at the end of a line. After punctuation, the most consistent of all deviations is that contractions and abbreviations in the manuscript are not followed—for example, the manuscript's 'wōden' appears as 'wondē' in print. This is common in any form of copying in the period. Also, some conventional script forms for

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77   Other examples of consistent spelling variants between the compositors are maer > mer (but), cunste > conste (art), roupen > roepen (call), duechden > doechden (virtues). Hellinga-Querido, *Methode en praktijk*, p. 101.

78   In my thesis I established that on 40 pages in which the compositor was 'free' to end he set more text than marked in the manuscript (up to 51 words, on C5ª), and on 34 pages he set less (up to 25 words, on E7ª). Obviously, more often than not casting off allowed too much space (Hellinga-Querido, *Methode en praktijk*, p. 94).

contractions were used by the scribe which were not included in Bellaert's fount. They are the 'con' abbreviation ꝛ and ȧ and ė used in the exemplar for 'er', e.g. in 'wȧen', 'hėn'.

The replacement of southern, or Flemish, spelling conventions by north-western forms, already noted in the work of the scribe, continued. Initial z was always replaced by s:

'zii' > 'si', 'zeyde' > 'seyde', 'zoe' > 'so' are frequently occurring words ('she', 'said', 'thus'). Some words (rather than consonants or vowels) are consistently spelled differently:

'andwoerde' > 'antwoerde' (answered), 'wyt' > 'wt' (out), 'wyren' > 'uren' (hours). The preposition 'up' (on) in the manuscript, virtually a shibboleth for Flemish or southwestern Dutch, consistently becomes 'op' in the printed version. Similarly, the form 'dinct' was not accepted, and was printed as 'dunct' (thinks). The 'unetymological h', which was frequently corrected in the manuscript but not entirely eradicated, was not acceptable to the compositors either: e.g. 'hu' > 'u' (pronoun you), 'houders' > 'ouders' (parents), but also the reverse, e.g. 'aet' > 'haet' (hate), 'oghe' > 'hoghe' (high).

Occasionally the adaptation of regional forms affected the vocabulary. The word 'prayerie', close to the original French, became 'weide' (pasture);[79] other examples out of many: 'ioncheit' > 'ioecht' (youth), 'spoed' > 'haest' (haste). Such changes in vocabulary already count as substantive textual variants. But there is far more substantive textual variation, which can be distinguished as:

– misreading of copy or skipping a line of copy;
– correction of copy where the text obviously needed it;
– omitting or more often adding words, where casting off required the page to be ended at a previously marked point;
– ad-libbing expansion of the text.

Of this list only the first is not a deliberate intervention, to which may be added a number of simple typos. Three times a line of copy was missed out.[80]

There are a few substantive corrections in the manuscript, inserting words which have all been taken over in the printed version. But there are numerous textual interventions in the printed book of which there is no trace in

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79　　Leaf H3ᵇ, l. 8.
80　　Leaf B5ᵃ, l. 1, D8ᵇ, l. 14, H4ᵃ, col. b, l. 4.

the manuscript. In some such cases the scribe may have misread the text which he was copying, and this is corrected in print: e.g.

Ms.: 45^v, ll. 14–15 ... stelt u in miin houdē ... ic sal u ghenesen
Ed.: h4^a, col. b, l. 4 ... stelt v in mijn handen ... ic sal v ghenesen (put yourself
                                       into my hands ... I shall heal you).

There are numerous examples of such small corrections. Proofs for this edition do not survive, so there is no immediate evidence on which to decide whether these variants are due to critical interventions of a corrector or signs that the two compositors were engaged in the text as they went along, and that their attitude to their work was far from mechanical. Circumstantial evidence indicates the second possibility. The almost constant changes in the representation of language show that a great deal was left to their judgement, and therefore it seems to me more probable that they were also responsible for substantive changes. This is confirmed when we note that there is a difference between the two compositors when the text is expanded.

As shown above, they might resort to fairly extreme abbreviation in order to squeeze in a final line on the page. More often, though, they had too much space on their hands. Both compositors used the device of adding a few words to the text when it came to copy-fitting. An example of a typical solution is the final lines of leaf E3^b. The words added are shaded:

Ms.: 67^v, ll. 28–30: ghi selt weten miin waerde vrou dat miin eer mi naerder ter
    harten leit dan eenich ander ding dus weet dat ic onder tdecsel va dien miin
    || (68^r) meenighe niet en is te doen ...
Ed.: E3^b, col. b, ll. 35–39: Ghy sult weten || mijn waerde wtuercoren vrouwe dat
    || mijn eer my naerder ter harten leyt || dan enich ander dinc ter werelt. dus ||
    weet dat ic onder tdecsel vā dien mijn || (E4^a) meeninghe niet en is te doen
    ... (You should know my esteemed excellent lady that my honour is closer
    to my heart than anything else in the world. Therefore know that due to my
    principle I shall not do this.)

The second compositor, who set quires K and L, managed copy-fitting at the end of pages in the same way, but unlike his colleague he never added words in other places in the text. It is probably telling that in this section of the exemplar we find a few words written in the margins in a different hand which were included in print. He seems to be less independent. The first compositor freely added to the text of the exemplar, usually to enrich its stylistic features by adding epithets, or 'doubling' by adding near-synonyms, a stylistic

feature that is also familiar in William Caxton's prose and belonged to the courtly style of the period.

Examples are:

Ms.: iason > Ed.: de ridder iason, de vrome iason, de vrome ridder iason, de edel ridder iason

(the knight Jason, the brave Jason, the brave knight Jason, the noble knight Jason).

Ms.: segghen > Ed.: segghen noch spreken (saying nor speaking)

Ms.: crachte > Ed.: crachte ende machte (force and might)

Ms.: verdreuen > Ed.: verdreuen ende veriaecht (expelled and chased out)

Ms.: ghebiet > Ed.: ghebiet ende beueelt (commands and orders)

Ms.: bedriegher > Ed.: bedriegher of loghenaer (deceiver or liar)

Ms.: starren > Ed.: starren der firmamenten (stars of the firmament)

In my thesis I added an appendix surveying the number of additions on every page.[81] There are not many in the first two quires, but from then on inspiration took hold, and by the time this compositor had reached quire E he was in full flow, adding as many as 22 words to each column on E7ᵃ. Both compositors clearly continued the process of adapting the text to the linguistic usage of the cities of the county of Holland. But the first compositor, who set by far the largest part of the book, went well beyond this. He entered into the spirit of the Burgundian scribes and translators, and infused the Dutch text in the exemplar with further courtly flourishes when he re-created rather than reproduced the text.

Bellaert's Edition of *l'Histoire de Jason*[82]

A crucial element in understanding the place of Bellaert's two versions, Dutch and French, of l'*Histoire de Jason* in the history of the transmission of this text, and by implication that of his two versions of the *Recueil des histoires de Troie*, is the evidence that a copy of the edition in French printed c. 1477 in Flanders and associated with William Caxton (from here on 'F') served as exemplar for Bellaert's French edition (from here on 'B'), and was therefore

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81   Hellinga-Querido, *Methode en praktijk*, Appendix V, pp. 211–221.

82   ILC 1416, ISTC il00110950, GW M17455.

likely to have also served as a basis for the translation into Dutch which survives in the manuscript he used as exemplar.[83]

Bellaert's edition in French collates a–l[8], 88 leaves, a1[a], s7[b], s8 blank.[84] Its layout is very similar to the edition in Dutch: two columns of 39 lines, the same 21 woodcuts, the first a full-page dedication woodcut in borders on the first verso. But not all the woodcuts are placed at the top of the page, as they are in the Dutch edition. Instead of leaving large blank spaces at the ends of chapters, the printer decided in due course to be more economical with space, and from leaf e1[b] six of the woodcuts appear above chapter headings but below two-column lines of text ending the previous chapter. Nevertheless, the French text occupies 171 pages, against the Dutch version's 164.

The same method used for the analysis of the use of the manuscript as printer's copy can be applied by treating a copy of F as if it were Bellaert's exemplar. A result of the previous analysis of the Dutch edition is that we can work with the assumption that for this book the practice of Bellaert's printing house was also to count off pages per quire. Then again, the order of typesetting of the successive quires might have been to begin with the first outer forme, mainly working inwards towards the middle of the quire, although the ends of chapters followed by blank spaces and woodcuts would lead to deviations from a strict application of such a system. For establishing how Bellaert prepared copy for his edition of *Jason* in French I used a printout of a microfilm of a copy of F in which I marked the page-ends of B. Thus it became possible to follow the Master Printer or a compositor counting off lines for each page, which they would have marked in the copy. In sections where successive page-ends in B coincide with line ends in F it was clear that 51 or 52 lines were regularly counted off for each page. But for many pages these markings were no more than a guideline, for, as could be deduced for the Dutch manuscript exemplar, it is probable that compositors would stick precisely to the casting off only if the following page was already in type—the marking having served to indicate the beginning of pages set non-seriatim order. Noting where B's page-ends do not coincide with line-ends in F, its presumed exemplar, shows where the following page had not yet been set; conversely, where they coincide it is probable that the following page was already in type. If the resulting pattern is similar

83   For the problems of dating the Flemish edition of *Jason* in French, see n. 9 above.

84   I have used for this part of the study printout of a microfilm of the copy of Bellaert's edition (ILC1416), BAV, Inc. Ross. 63, Sheehan L-69, compared with a microfilm-printout of the copy of the Flemish edition (ILC 1415, ISTC, il00110930, GW M17457) in the BnF, Rés. Y². 398, CIBN L-85. I am grateful to Dr Marieke van Delft for providing the printout of the microfilm of this copy held at the Royal Library, The Hague.

TABLE 4   *Survey of the typesetting of Bellaert's French Jason. Legenda: = : compositor follows casting off; ≠: compositor is free to end the page; □: end of chapter followed by blank space, or blank; W: woodcut at top of page; W*: woodcut placed in-text. NB: c1ª: woodcut follows at top of page on c1ᵇ; c5ª and h1ª: end of paragraph, new paragraph begins on following page.*

Page	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Fol.	1ª	1ᵇ	2ª	2ᵇ	3ª	3ᵇ	4ª	4ᵇ	5ª	5ᵇ	6ª	6ᵇ	7ª	7ᵇ	8ª	8ᵇ
a⁸	□	W	□	W≠	□	≠	W≠	=	□	W=	=	=	=	≠	≠	≠
b⁸	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	≠	≠	□	W=	=	=	=	=	=	=	≠
c⁸	=	W=	=	=	=	=	=	□	W(=)	≠	≠	≠	□	W=	≠	≠
d⁸	≠	≠	=	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	=	□	W=	=	=	=	≠
e⁸	≠	W*=	≠	=	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	W*≠
f⁸	≠	≠	≠	=	≠	□	W*=	≠	≠	≠	W=	=	=	=	=	≠
g⁸	≠	≠	≠	W*≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	≠
h⁸	(=)	□	W=	≠	≠	=	≠	=	=	=	=	=	=	□	W=	≠
i⁸	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	=	=	=	□	W=	=	=	≠
k⁸	≠	≠	≠	□	W*≠	≠	≠	=	=	=	W=	=	≠	=	=	≠
l⁸	≠	≠	□	W≠	≠	≠	≠	≠	W*=	=	=	=	□	□	□	□

to the pattern which could be established on the basis of known marked-up printer's copy used in the same printing house (as presented above in Tables 1 and 2), we may take this as evidence of the dependence of Bellaert's edition on the earlier printed version F. In Table 4, above, I have set out the notation of the page-ends in B in relation to line ends in F, also noting their relation to blank spaces and woodcuts—or in other words, the actions of Bellaert's compositor (or compositors), from which his progress may be deduced.

A pattern emerges that is very similar to that recorded in Tables 1–2 for the relation of the Dutch versions in manuscript and print which allowed the deduction of (by and large) the order of typesetting and printing by formes. This pattern puts beyond doubt that a copy of the Flemish edition F served Bellaert as exemplar.

The similarity to the patterns in Tables 1, 2 and 4 is such that it allows the conclusion that Bellaert's French *Jason* was produced in much the same way as the Dutch version a year earlier: the quires were the basic units and were produced sequentially; they were set and printed by formes, working from the first outer forme inwards. There are fewer exceptions and complications than in the earlier book. At first glance the regularity of quires g and i (the page-ends

in the entire first half of the quire 'free') stands out as a textbook example of this mode of progress, but when taking account of the position of blank spaces and woodcuts, most quires comply with the pattern of completing formes from the outer forme inwards. There are two exceptions: quire c, where the standard order of progress seems to be entirely reversed, and, to a lesser extent, quire e. A concentration of textual variants for copy-fitting in quire c shows that the setting of this quire cannot have been straightforward.

Large stretches of Bellaert's text follow F faithfully. Further examination shows that most textual variations between F and Bellaert's edition can be linked to copy-fitting, and that they therefore originated in his printing house, without an intermediate source. A difference between the two printed versions is that Bellaert's compositor (or compositors) resorted much more often to contracted and abbreviated words than the exemplar. Often this is obviously due to having to set lines in rather narrow columns instead of the long lines of the exemplar. Extreme contraction, such as 'cheualier' > 'chl'r̃', 'presence' > 'p̄sēce', and 'conqueste' > 'cōq̄ste', are rare and occur only at page-ends where there were obviously problems with copy-fitting.

The many traces of copy-fitting throughout the book were effected by contracting and abbreviating words, or by textual variants, often a combination of the two. Where space was a problem, punctuation was often reduced, and capitals were replaced by lower case. Stylistic embellishments, especially doublets and epitheta, such as 'le preu', 'le noble', could be dispensed with. The only drastic cuts are found on two pages in quire c, due to what must have been a miscalculation in casting off.

On a few occasions the text was verbally expanded. I noted examples of textual expansions which were probably introduced as corrections or clarifications. A clarification, but probably also an expansion of text for copy-fitting, is, for example:

F: b1ᵃ, ll. 7–8	tout ce iour cheuaucha iusques || au soir quil herberge en la maison dune dame moult || ancienne
B: a7ᵃ, col. b, ll. 36–39	Tout ce || iour cheuaucha peleus en cest estat || iusques au soir. quil prinst herberge || enla maison dune bone (*sic*) dame moult || (a7ᵇ) ancienne

Here and in the following examples additional words are shaded.

The words 'en cest etat' seem an unnecessary expansion, invented for copy-fitting, but the additions also provided a missing word in the verbal form and

gave the sentence a clear subject, 'peleus'. Another example of expansion is also a clarification:

F: g6ᵇ, ll. 25–26	iason qui demouura en la cite de len || nos cõme dit est entendi …
B: e5ᵃ, col. b, ll. 37–39	iason qui demeu || ra en la cite de lenos a la requeste || de hercules comme dit est entendy …

Omission of words and contraction of forms occur, however, much more frequently than expansion of the text. It could be done very simply:

F: l3ᵇ, l. 16	… il en est temps ou iamais. || [A]Pres …
B: g7ᵃ, col. b, l. 39	… il en est temps (g7ᵇ) [A]Pres …

F: f6ᵇ, l. 31	… par sa vaillance et hardiesse/ Et se passa ce disner en telles ou || semblables deuises
B: d8ᵃ, col. b, ll. 38–39	… par sa vaillan || ce. Et se passa ce desner en telles ou ||(d8ᵇ) semblables deuises

Replacement with a smaller word might shorten the line:

c3ᵇ, col. b, l. 37: Il se determina du tout quil … > Il conclut quil …

In the following examples copy-fitting is achieved by omitting a substantial number of words at the cost of telling detail; there is no contraction of forms:

F: c5ᵃ, ll. 7–8	… le iayant apres ce || pesant cop receu haulta le poing a tout lespee et de rechief || en cuida ferir iason
B: b6ᵇ, col. b, l. 39	… le iayent apres ce pesant et || (b7ᵃ) en cuida ferir iason

F: i4ᵇ, ll. 24–28	[A]Pres celle malle auēture le roy appollo et ceulx || qui auecques lui auoient este sen retournerent au || palais clinant les testes embas / et monstrās que || ennuy les auoit entreprins / Quant ou palais || furent venus tous se prindrēt a regretter zechius. Et durāt || ce dueil …
B: f6ᵃ, ll. 18–19 (below woodcut)	[A]Pres celle malle euenture le || roy appollo ⁊ les gēs retour || nerent au palais et prindrent tous fotr (*sic*) a regretter zechius. Et durant || (f6ᵇ) ce dueil …

F: c2ᵇ, ll. 9–11	… le roy loyal amant vsa || iamais des termes dont vous me parleʒ / Et quant vng || prince peult paruenir alamour …
B: b5ᵃ, col. b, ll. 18–19 (below woodut)	… le roy loyal amant ne vsa iaꝰ || mais de telleʒ polles. Car quat vng || (b5ᵇ) prince peult paruenir a lamour …

One omission of words can only be understood as a textual correction. In the preceding pages there is no mention of the king of Tuscany:

F: d2ᵃ, l. 22	[Donc quant vint] … le roy de toscane et le roy de bougie recongnurent …
B: c2ᵃ, col. b, ll. 15–16	[Donc quāt vint] … le roy debougie || et ses gēs recōgnurēt …

At other page-ends contracted forms are concentrated in the final lines of column b:

F: l4ᵇ, ll. 4–6	[Q]vant la dame ot entendu ce que dit est elle se prinst || tendrement a plourer en disant / Haa chiere fille || quauez vous fait ie suis de tous poins deshonnouree par || vous ...
B: g7ᵇ, co. b, ll. 36–39	[Q]Uāt la dame ot ētēdu ce q̄ dit || ē elle se prist tēdremēt a plou || rer en disant Haa chierefille q̄uez vo⁹ || fait ie suis de to⁹ poīs deshonnoure p (g8ᵃ) vo⁹ ...

In the following example three words are replaced by one, and there is an extreme contraction of forms, to fit the page-end:

F: o2ᵇ, ll. 28–31	[Jason wedded Medea] ... a moult grant hōneur et reuerēce / car il lui en || fist autant que dame pouoit receuoir / La feste y fut noble || belle et planiere et si fut plentureusemēt seruie de tous biens || Mais ...
B: i5ᵇ, col. b, ll. 34–39:	... a moult grant sollempnite car || il lui en fist autāt q̄ daē pouoit r̄ceuoir || la feste y fut noble belle ꝛ plainiere ꝛ || si fut plētureusemēt seruie de to⁹ biēs (i6ᵃ) Mais ...

Copy-fitting at page-ends was not the only problem of 'fitting' for the compositors. The short lines of the columns often led to contraction, and perhaps occasionally to failed adjustment, as in the following example, where the contracted word 'propre' in l. 37 for King Eson's rejuvenated body is surely superfluous. The final line includes three contracted forms. Curiously, the end of l. 37 misses the final two letters of the word 'faire', and 'ꝛ' does not belong in the sentence; 'propre' may have been introduced to adjust the length of the line, but obviously something has gone wrong.

F: o6ᵃ, ll. 4–5	... et pour son corps fist faire tous nouueaulx || habillemens Sur la facon queles ieunes gens les portoiēt ||
B. i8ᵃ, col. b, ll. 37–39	... et pour son ppre corps fist fai || ꝛ tous nouueaulx habillemens sur la || facon que les iēnes gēs les portoi-ēt ||

The layout feature of beginning paragraphs with a two-line space for Lombard initials was also the cause of some textual adjustments. In the following example, adding four words allowed the column to reach the regular length of 39 lines, and the new paragraph could begin at the top of column b:

F: b2ᵃ, ll. 21–22	Ceste royne estoit appellee mirro qui vault || autant a dire comme miroir en beaulte.
B: a8ᵃ, ll. 36–39	Ceste royne esꝫ || toit appellee mirro qui vault autant || a dire cōme miroir en beautesur touꝫ || tes autres dames

In the next example, the omission of the words 'haulte et clair' ensured that at the bottom of column a there would be a two-line space for the Lombard. There was no such ruse at the end of g8ᵃ, col. a, where there is only one line for the Lombard initial.

F: nᵇ, ll. 7–8	… et dist en telle maniere haulte et cler.|| [A]Dieu mon chier enfant / adieu
B: i3ᵇ, col. b, ll. 37–38	… et dist en telle maniere || [A]Dieu mon chier enfant adieu ||

There are remarkably few typos in F, but I spotted one that the compositor of B chose to ignore, the misspelling of the name of King Oethes. B just omitted the name:

F: k4ᵇ, ll. 29–30	le roy ohe || tes voulu interroguer
B: g3ᵃ, col. b, l. 38	Le roy voulu īterroguer

There are, however, more typos in B, as in the following:

c2ᵇ col. b, l. 31:	plusieurs > pusieurs, l. 32: obstant > abstant
c3ᵇ, col. b, l. 35:	moins possible > maīs possible

F: k8ᵃ, ll. 21–22   Si se disposa pour y aller et manda || tous les gregois de sa compaignie ...

B: g7ᵃ, col. b, l. 39   Si se disposa paur y alleriet manda || tous les gregois dsae cōpaignie ...

All the examples quoted so far, although adding up to a record of constant alertness in reproducing the text, are minor textual interventions. The only section of Bellaert's book where production troubles left some serious textual scars is quire c. This quire contains three woodcuts, two of which are preceded by pages with a lot of blank space. Table 4 has shown that, unlike the other quires, the page-ends of the second half of the quire were all 'free' to be ended. This can only mean that—exceptionally—this quire was produced beginning with the middle inner forme (c4ᵇ–c5ᵃ, or pages 8 and 9) and working outwards, after the pages had been counted off and marked. Beginning with the middle forme might have had some advantage, for c4ᵇ has only just over one column of text and c5ᵃ a woodcut, so the typesetting of the two facing pages was the equivalent of about one normal page. As noted before, from page c5ᵃ to the end of the quire there are no signs of copy-fitting, but each of the pages preceding c4ᵇ shows copy-fitting to a greater or lesser extent, and the two first pages, c1ᵃ and c1ᵇ (pages 1 and 2, or the first half of the first outer sheet of the quire), seem to bear witness to a printing-house panic. One can only speculate as to what caused the panic, and it may be dismissed as the kind of incident which must have happened all too often. But since it shows the printer's ability to manipulate the French text, it is worth paying some close attention to it. Assuming that the printer completed formes in the reverse reading order of the first half of the quire, we may sum up his finishing of page-ends between c4ᵃ and c1ᵃ:

c4ᵃ (page 7):   last 12 lines much contracted. Omitted several words, e.g. 'en nulle maniere'.

c3ᵇ (page 6):   last 8 lines (final paragraph) much contracted; textual variants.

c3ᵃ (page 5):   considerable textual expansion.

c2ᵇ (page 4):   final paragraph (14 lines) much contracted.

c2ᵃ (page 3):   last 5 lines contracted.

c1ᵇ (page 2):   with woodcut. First column of text (19 lines) drastically cut. Last 2 lines of column b contracted and the text cut.

c1ᵃ (page 1):   text of final paragraph (21 lines) drastically cut. Squeezes in more text than usual because of the following woodcut.

I do not propose to quote the evidence for all seven pages listed above, but I cannot help wondering how a reader would be able to share in gruesome events when represented thus:

B: c2ᵇ, ll. 36–39	... vng || cop si desmesure quil lui pourfēdy la || teste iusq̄s au mēton et labaty mort || du cheual p terre et la baniere auec || lui en la p̄sēce du roy esclauon ...

More to the point is the end of page c3ᵃ, where the text was expanded by continuing Lefèvre's game of piling cliché on cliché. Whoever was responsible for re-creating the text (and making the page fit) obviously was able to out-cliché the author, and enjoyed it:

F: d4ᵃ, ll. 9–12	Et de plus en plus iason fu en la gra || ce des dames Car les mieulx nees les plus belles les pl⁹ || acomplies les plus especialles ficherent leur amour en lui || Toutes furent ialouses ...
B: c3ᵃ, col. b, ll. 25–30	Et de plus en plus iason le gracieux cheualier || et courtois fu en la grace des daēs || et damoiselles Car les mieulx nees || les plus belles les plus acomplies || les plus especiales et le plus adres || chies ficherēt leur amour en lui. Et toutes furent ialouses ...

The two pages beginning the outer sheet of quire c, pages c1ᵃ and c1ᵇ, were bound by limits set by preceding and following pages. The case of page c1ᵃ is the least complicated. The end of the page was determined by the woodcut that was to appear at the top of the following page, c1ᵇ, as was the regular layout in the first four quires; not until quire e were woodcuts placed in-text instead of at the top of the page. When counting pages for the previous quire b, the end of the quire, page b8ᵇ was left free, and the master printer (or compositor) did not take account of the woodcut one page ahead. As a result, 54 lines had to be set for the page instead of the usual 51 or 52, or even 56 lines, if the title of the new chapter would have preceded the woodcut, as was the usual style The compositor was already far advanced on page c1ᵃ when he became aware of the approaching problem. Halfway through the second column he began cutting the text:

'telles ou semblables parolles' (l. 19), 'assez briefs' (l. 22), 'lui dist en telle ma-niere' (l. 28).

From l. 34, the cutting becomes extensive, and as a consequence word order changes:

F: d1a, ll. 14–19	Et pour tant ie || vous prie quen ceste iournee vous ayez bon couraige de def || fendre ma querelle qui est bonne et iuste Et au regard de || moy ie metʒ mon armee et mes hommes soubʒ la conduitte || de vostre preudommie priant aux dieux quilʒ vueillent esᵃ|| clarcir vostre fortune et ma bonne querelle exaulcer.
B: c1ᵃ, col. b, ll. 34–39	Et pour || tāt ie vo⁹ prie quē ceste iournee veul || lieʒ deffēdre ma iuste q̄relle Et au regard d' moy ie mets meʒ hoēʒ et mō || armee en vrē ꝯduite p̀ant au dieux || quilʒ veillēt exaulter ma bōne q̄relle ||

The cutting of text continued on c1ᵇ, after the woodcut. For this page 28 lines of text were to be set, plus two lines of title. The compositor began with abbreviating the title, cutting words and changing the word order:

F: d1ᵇ, ll. 20–22	Comment par la haulte vaillance du preu iason le roy || desclauonnie fu et son ost desconfy et lui occis deuant oliᵃ || ferne.
B: c1ᵇ, col. 1, ll. 1–2	Cōmēt le roy desclauōnie fu en la || bataille occis ꝛ tout son ost descoufy (*sic*)

The compositor continues with abbreviating the story, losing 39 words in the first 20 lines, and uses extreme contraction of forms, e.g.

F: d1ᵃ, ll. 23–26 …	[A]Insi que la noble royne parloit et amonnestoit
30–31	le ‖ preu cheualier iason et ses hommes du bien faire ‖
	et de eulx bien et vaillanment combatre en deffendant sa
	iuste et bonne querelle …
	Il parti du palais a grans regrets et monta ‖ acheual /
	mais il y ot plusieurs des dames et damoiselles ‖ (d2ᵇ)
	du court qui commencerent a larmoyer apres lui
	prians ‖ aux dieux quilʒ lui enuoyassent bonne auanture
	Et disoⱹ ‖ ient … (*etc.*)
B: c1ᵇ, col. a,	[A]Insi ꝗ̇ la royne ploi ⁊ a‖monnestoit iason et ses gēs du
ll. 3–13	bñ faire endef ‖ fēdāt sa iuste ꝗrelle … (l. 11) il parti du pa
	‖ lays et mōta a cheual Tous cōmēce ‖rēt a larmoyer a
	pres lui Et disoient ‖ … (*etc.*)

As many as 45 words are lost in ll. 3–19. From l. 2 of col. b, B follows the text of F exactly for 16 lines, until l. 18, where another five words are omitted: before the battle music is played on various instruments so melodiously, as if they were at a wedding, B omits 'ou a quelque noble conuiue'.

Le recueil des histoires de Troie[85]

The point of departure of the present study was *l'Histoire de Jason*; it all began with the manuscript printer's copy of the Dutch translation, and after long detours into its context it returned to Bellaert's production of its two editions, in Dutch and in French. *Jason* was the earliest of Raoul Lefèvre's two texts, but it would be wrong to leave the production of *Le recueil des histoires de Troie*, the second and largest of his works, entirely outside the considerations, for its publication was closely related. Since its completion followed Bellaert's editions of *Jason*, both in Dutch and in French, much of what could be established about his procedures on the basis of printer's copy, extant and presumed, might be expected also to apply to the *Recueil*.

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85   ILC 1420, ISTC il00113500, GW M17434. I compared a printout of a microfilm of Bellaert's edition in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. Ross. 717, Sheehan L-70 with a printout of the microfilm of the copy of the Flemish edition (ILC 1419, ISTC il00113000, GW M17433) at the BnF, Rés. Y2. 170.

The Dutch translation which served as manuscript copy for the *Recueil* (or in Dutch, *Die vergaderinge der historien van troyen*) is not known to survive, and it is fruitless to speculate as to whether such a manuscript would have included drawings by the Jason Master. It leads again to the question whether there is a direct relation between the Jason Master's drawings for *Jason* and the woodcuts; this question is bound to remain a subject for art history debate.[86] We may note, however, that many of the architectural elements and human figures in the *Jason* woodcuts recur in the additional 25 woodcuts made for the *Recueil* in Dutch and in French: battling knights and horses, and swords, bows, tents and other decorative paraphernalia of combat abound.[87] In the *Recueil* one new and striking pictorial element was introduced in two woodcuts: one, in white against a strong black background, shows Hercules fighting three lions, the other shows a wild battle of foot soldiers.[88] In all, the Dutch version had 48 woodcut illustrations, including many repeats, reduced in the French version to 44 illustrations.

It is less speculative to assume that the Dutch *Recueil*, dated 5 May 1485, was translated from the French version printed in Flanders c. 1474. The direct derivation of the Haarlem edition in French from the earlier French edition can be demonstrated in the same way as was shown above for *Jason*. The Dutch version has many features in common with the Dutch *Jason*: in-folio, the same fount of type and layout, two columns of 39 lines, woodcuts placed regularly at the tops of pages to head chapters, often preceded by blank spaces where chapters had ended, and the text further divided into paragraphs, marked by spaces for Lombards. It was probably produced in much the same way as the surviving printer's copy allowed us to establish for the Dutch *Jason*.

For the typesetting of these books Bellaert's printing house in all likelihood employed more than one compositor, as could be shown in the Dutch *Jason* but was not obvious in its French version. The larger work, divided into three books, collates in the Dutch version a–i^8 k$^{8-1}$; l–q^8 r^6 (round) r$^{6-1}$; ſ s–x^8 y–z^6 ꝛ^6, 196 leaves, the last blank. The French version collates aa-kk^8; A–G^8 H4; I–L–m–nN-O^8 P^6, 194 leaves. In both editions the distinct sections in the sequences of

86 Nieuwstraten, 'Overlevering en verandering', see n. 15 above, doubted the direct derivation of the woodcuts from the drawings but does not come up with a satisfactory alternative.

87 Kok (2013), listing the *Recueil* woodcuts as nos. 162. 1–25, surmises (vol. I, p. 374) that the new *Recueil* woodcuts contained elements copied from *Jason* woodcuts.

88 On l1^a and v2^b, repeated on x3^b and y1^b; Kok (2013) nos. 162. 11 and 162. 22. In the French *Recueil* the background of the woodcut with the lions has reverted to white, but the background to the battle scene remained as before.

signatures coincide with the division into books. We may assume that for both works copy was divided between compositors for concurrent production.

For the French version it is possible to compare Bellaert's book with the book printed in Flanders that was its exemplar, working with printouts of microfilms of the Flemish book in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and Bellaert's book in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. I have limited myself to probes in the first five quires and found, not unexpectedly, the same regular patterns which indicate setting by formes from the outer forme inwards as I had found in the French *Jason*. The layout is exactly the same as in the three Lefèvre editions previously printed by Bellaert, and a routine was obviously well established. A small difference with the French *Jason* is that in the French *Recueil* only two woodcuts were placed in-text,[89] but this did not give rise to the drastic textual revision that could be observed on one such occasion in *Jason*. In my probe I found that the text was followed very accurately; the main difference in presentation is the more frequent use of abbreviations by Bellaert (but, as noted above, the Flemish text was undoubtedly set seriatim and with long lines, and therefore had far fewer problems of copy-fitting), and the less frequent use of capitals for personal names. Only a few places show signs of copy-fitting, e.g. bb6ᵃ has 19 contracted forms in the final 10 lines, the end of which coincide with the line end of [b]7ᵇ, l. 30, in the Flemish edition. The only substantial textual expansion at the end of a page I encountered in my probe is:

F: [b]6ᵃ, ll. 20–22	Et com⸗ || mecant ses glorieuses entreprinses leur dist ainsi / Et quest || ce cy ou est le sang des epiriens / …
B: bb5ᵃ, ll. 34–37	Et commechant ses glorieuses oeu || ures et entreprinses leur dist ainsi || tout hault. Et quest ce cy le || sang des epiririens / …

This is modest compared with the textual adaptations found in the French *Jason*. My impression—based on what is admittedly a small sample—is that there may have been less manipulation of the text than in *Jason*, although where it occurs it was done with no less confidence.

89	On ee4ᵇ and I4ᵃ.

Conclusion

When written in the 1460s, the two texts on Jason and Troy were addressed to a duke, perhaps in the hope that they might also be of interest to his heir, and a small circle of courtiers, including the Knights of the Golden Fleece, with their own intimates. In their dissemination in a few rich manuscripts they became fused with a visual tradition that had developed since the late fourteenth century. When they first appeared in print in the 1470s, in English and in French, the two texts were presented plainly, for illustration was beyond the capability of their printers, William Caxton and his associates. The printer's dedications of the English versions emphasised their association with the ducal court of Burgundy and the royal court of England, although in the nature of print they were bound to reach a somewhat wider public.

A decade later a happy combination of personalities, their individual experiences, and their initiatives effected a transformation in these late blooms of Burgundian culture. Gheraert Leeu and the Jason Master, Jacob Bellaert and an anonymous woodcut artist—and, let us not forget, translators—gave the two texts a new lease of life and brought them to new audiences. The woodcuts are the most immediately appealing feature of the transformation from manuscript culture to print, by way of the inspired interpretation of the earlier tradition in the drawings by the Jason Master. The result is an intriguing, sometimes puzzling transition of style and mode of storytelling. Less obvious is that in the medium of print the text itself was the outcome of a continuous process of usually subtle adaptation, and occasionally quite unsubtle improvisation. By following in detail the production of the two texts (in Dutch and in French) in the printing house, we can observe how the procedures and practices of printing as they had developed by the mid-1480s brought about changes and losses. Textual transmission had to cope with new limitations of space, yet the printer wished to produce an appearance of regularity and balance. He succeeded. After a timespan of only 20 years the Burgundian texts, transplanted to the north, had acquired a new form in Jacob Bellaert's four books, adapted to the taste of a world of readers that was rapidly renewing itself.

Appendix 1: Drawings by the Jason Master

Miniatures in the Dutch Jason *manuscript and woodcuts as used by Bellaert*

Kok		Add MS 10290 (I)	Bellaert's Dutch Jason	Dutch Recueil	Bellaert's French Jason	Leu's Jason 1492
160. 1	Dedication	2ʳ, 148×126	a1ᵇ	R	a1ᵇ	a2ᵇ
160. 2	King Eson summons Jason	3ᵛ, top, 107×126	a2ᵇ		a2ᵇ	a3ᵇ
160. 3	Joust at the court of king of Thebes starring Hercules and Jason	6ᵛ, top, 106×133	a4ᵃ	R	a4ᵃ	a5ᵃ
160. 4	Jason slays the drunken centaurs who are kidnapping a king's bride	9ʳ, top, 95×130	a5ᵇ		a5ᵇ	
160. 5	Jason fights the giant Corfus	23ᵛ, top, 118×128	B4ᵇ		b5ᵃ	b6ᵇ
160. 6	Jason kills two kings in battle	32ʳ, bottom, 201/105×127	C1ᵃ	R	c1ᵇ	c6ᵃ
160. 7	Queen Mirro follows Jason	37ᵛ, bottom, 103/90×125	C4ᵃ		c5ᵃ	d3ᵇ
160. 8	Two ships, one with Jason, the other with Mirro on board, are attacked in the port of Bisant	41ᵛ, top, 109×127	C6ᵃ	R	c7ᵇ	d6ᵃ
160. 9	Jason's uncle King Peleas meets Jason with one foot unshod	53ʳ, top, 115×129	D4ᵃ		d6ᵇ	e5ᵇ
160. 10	Argos sets sail and Queen Ysiphile receives Jason and his companions	58ʳ, bottom, 140/114×128	D7ᵃ		e1ᵇ	f1ᵃ
160. 11	King Apollo, sent by Mars, builds a town on the island of Colchis	lost	E6ᵃ	R	e8ᵇ	g1ᵃ
160. 12	Thirty men set out in the ship Argos and row to the smoke-covered isle of Colchis	77ᵛ, bottom, 85×128	F1ᵇ		f4ᵃ	g5ᵃ
160. 13	Fight between king Apollo and Zetephius	82ʳ, top, 115×126	F4ᵃ	R	f6ᵃ	g7ᵇ

Kok		Add MS 10290 (I)	Bellaert's Dutch Jason	Dutch Recueil	Bellaert's French Jason	Leu's Jason 1492
160. 14	King Oetes receives Jason, eagerly watched from a window by Medea	91ʳ, top, 120/136×128	G1ᵃ	R	g2ᵇ	h4ᵇ
160. 15	Jason slays the dragon and conquers the golden fleece	106ᵛ, bottom, 125×125	G8ᵇ		h2ᵃ	a1ᵃ, i4ᵇ
160. 16	Queen Ysiphile throws herself from a rock	118ʳ, top, 120×125	H6ᵃ		h8ᵃ	k3ᵇ
160. 17	Medea's magic bath kills King Peleus and restores King Eson to his youth	130ᵛ, bottom, 115×126	I4ᵇ		i7ᵃ	l3ᵇ
160. 18	Medea, attended by dragons, takes revenge at Jason's wedding to Creuse	138ʳ, top, 120×129	I8ᵇ		k3ᵃ	l8ᵃ
160. 19	Jason marries Queen Mirro and slays twelve knights	144ʳ, top, 127×131	K3ᵇ	R	k6ᵃ	m3ᵇ
160. 20	Medea pleads with King Eson and he besieges Oliferne with a Greek army	152ʳ, bottom, 119×130	L1ᵇ		l2ᵇ	m8ᵇ
160. 21	Patroclos kills Mirro with an arrow	157ʳ, bottom, 120×128	L4ᵃ		l5ᵃ	n3ᵇ

Miniatures in the Dutch Scaecspel

I	King	165ʳ, 133×84
II	Queen	171ᵛ, 133×92
III	Councillor	176ʳ, 96×85
IV	Knight	183ʳ, 120×85
V	Rook	197ʳ, 122×88
VI	Farmer	202ᵛ, 103/112×87
VII	Goldsmith	205ᵛ, 83×89
VIII	Draper, weaver	208ᵛ, 80×55
IX	Merchant	211ʳ, 98×83
X	Man of learning (doctor, scholar)	215ʳ, 83×80
XI	Innkeeper	219ʳ, 78×89

Miniatures in the Dutch Scaecspel (cont.)

| XII | Alderman, sheriff | 222$^{\mathrm{v}}$, 94×84 |
| XIII | Youthful fool | 223$^{\mathrm{v}}$, 85×75 |

Appendix II: Previous Owners of Add MS 10290

Between use of the *Jason* manuscript as printer's copy in 1485 and 1630, no owners can be identified. The manuscript, together with *Scaecspel*, must have been bound or rebound c. 1575–1580, as shown by the flyleaves dating from that period and the leaf replacing the original leaf f10. On the final verso of the *Jason* manuscript a crown is roughly drawn in brown ink, and an inscription in the same ink below it is very heavily scored through. The crown was probably drawn before the seventeenth century; I have been unable to read the line of text through the thick scrawls deleting it.

1. Henricus ab Heydendal gave the book on 28 July 1630 to Jacob Revius 'ab amico tuo studiosissimo' (inscription). Heydendal, doctor utriusque iuris, was born in Doesburg, where he was Burgomaster until 1629. In 1628 he married Niesken van Bommel, of Deventer, where he settled in 1630. Heydendal's friendship with Revius is also evident in his laudatory verse in the prelims to Revius's collection of poems *Over-Ysselsche Sangen en Dichten*, which was first published in Deventer in 1630.
2. Jacob Revius (d. 1658), best known as a poet, was in 1630 a vicar of the Reformed Church in Deventer. His library was auctioned in 1659, but his manuscripts were bequeathed to his son-in-law Jobus Steenwijck and his grandson Carolus Bockelmann.
3. H.G. van Vrijhoff is the next identifiable owner (inscription), professor at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam. There is no evident link with Jacob Revius or his heirs. Vrijthoff's library was auctioned on 21 October 1754 and the days following it by S. Schouten and J. Roman, Amsterdam (their catalogue, p. 15, lot 319).
4. Balthazar Huydecoper (1695–1778), philologist and collector; sold at his auction by S. Schouten, Amsterdam, 29 March–2 April 1779, lot 99. Bought at Huydecoper's auction by
5. Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, J.C. zoon, of the family of printers (inscription with the year 1779 and engraved ex libris affixed on flyleaf). The foliation in ink in both manuscripts is probably in his hand, which also wrote the

note 'Aº 1312 geschreeven' after a cutting from the Huydecoper catalogue. The library of Cornelis Ploos van Amstel was auctioned on 24 March 1800 by the widow J. Doll and Sons at Amsterdam (catalogue p. 83, lot 5, described as bound in parchment with brass lock). According to a manuscript note in the copy of the catalogue of the Vereeniging ter Bevordering der Belangen des Boekhandels (now at the University Library, Amsterdam), the manuscript was bought by

6. J. Weege, bookseller in Amsterdam, for 9.15 guilders.
7. Jacob Koning, scholar and collector, was the next owner, his auction catalogue (1833, p. 27, lot 196). From there it was acquired by
8. Richard Heber. The manuscript appears in his catalogue pt. 11, Evans, London, 10 February 1836 and the days following, lot 958. It was bought at this sale by
9. the British Museum, for 17 guineas.

Once in the British Museum the manuscript was re-bound in a British Museum binding. It was described several times, most often in summary form:

List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1836–1840 (London, 1843), p. 28.

H.D.L. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I (3 vols., London, 1883–1910), pp. 92–93.

K. de Flou and E. Gailliard, *Beschrijving van Middelnederlandsche en andere handschriften die in Engeland bewaard worden* [Koninklijke Vlaamsche Akademie] (Ghent, 1895), vol. I, pp. 135–150.

F. van Veerdeghem, 'Een en ander over den roman van Jason', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde*, 15 (1896), pp. 100–107.

R. Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, vol. II (Erlangen, 1901), p. 119.

Lotte Hellinga-Querido, *Methode en praktijk bij het zetten van boeken in de vijftiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1974), pp. 163–168.

In the exhibition catalogue by Henri L.M. Defoer etc. (eds.), *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting* (New York, 1990), with an introduction by James Marrow; the catalogue entry of Add MS 10290 begins with a concise description of the manuscript, pp. 233, 239, and Pl. 79, Fig. 133.

Nicholas Love's *Mirror* in Print

The Evolution of Readers

The present study of the successive printed editions of Nicholas Love's translation into English of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* is focused on the stability of the text as transmitted in print between c. 1484 and 1530: Is it really as stable as it appears to be at first glance? The early printed editions of the *Mirror of the life of Christ*, the title under which Love's translation is known, are all derived from Caxton's first edition of c. 1484, whether directly or indirectly.[1] On the face of it this would suggest that the appearance of this text in print signified the late medieval stabilisation of a text that had already been in circulation for some 75 years.

The original *Meditationes* is now generally ascribed to Johannes de Caulibus, a Franciscan friar who wrote it in San Gimignano in Tuscany around the middle of the fourteenth century.[2] Unlike the Gospels, the text presented the life of Christ in a single narrative; traditionally it was arranged according to the days of the week, the stories from the New Testament expanded with lengthy contemplations on the themes of the biblical episodes, a form that could serve equally well for sermons as for private reading. It was immediately popular

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1 Twelve early editions are recorded in STC 3259–3268. The four incunable editions are described in Duff 48–51, GW 4763–4766. Caxton's first edition is known only from an imperfect copy in Cambridge UL, Oates 4098, and a fragment in Lambeth Palace Library. Caxton's second edition is described in BMC XI, pp. 172–174, Wynkyn de Worde's first in BMC XI, pp. 191–192, and Richard Pynson's first in BMC XI, pp. 275–276. The five extant editions printed in the sixteenth century are the edition in-folio printed by Richard Pynson in 1506 (STC 3263), and four editions in-quarto printed by Wynkyn de Worde c. 1506, 1517, 1525, and 1530 (STC 3263.5, 3264–3267). STC records two recusant editions of the seventeenth century in duodecimo format: one printed in Douai by C. Boscard in 1606 (STC 3268), and further revised editions by the same printer in Saint-Omer, 1622 (STC 13034) and 1634. A.I. Doyle argues that the revised editions printed at Saint-Omer (also in duodecimo, the later one not in STC) should be included as versions of Nicholas Love's translation (A.I. Doyle, 'Recusant Versions of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*', *Bodleian Library Record*, 15 (1966), pp. 411–413).

2 Johannes de Caulibus lived later than Bonaventura, who died in 1274. There is internal evidence (a reference to the death of Elizabeth of Hungary) that the *Meditationes* was written after 1336.

with readers in orders, and in its many translations with laypeople, in the words of the English translation, 'comune peple, & symple soules, to þe whech it is specialy writen'.[3] Nicholas Love translated the Latin text into English at the Charterhouse of Mount Grace in the first decade of the fifteenth century, and had certainly completed his translation by about 1410, when he submitted it for approval for lay reading to Archbishop Thomas Arundel.[4] The textual history of the English text which survives in 61 manuscripts dating from its beginning until late in the fifteenth century has been extensively studied by Michael G. Sargent as part of his edition of the *Mirror*. He established three basic branches in the textual tradition—the original authorial text, an authorial revision, and a scribal version—which are divided in a web of subdivisions.[5] Its intricacy is not surprising in a very popular text. A.I. Doyle observed that Love's *Mirror of the Life of Christ* was one of the most widely read religious texts in England in the fifteenth century, along with Walter Hylton's *Scale of Perfection*, John Mirk's *Festial*, and the Wycliffe translations of the New Testament (despite Archbishop Arundel's decree forbidding their unauthorised use).[6] The diversity of the Middle English tradition is multiplied, however, in the dissemination of the text in Latin versions and the translations into other languages (see section III below, pp. 391–394).

Sargent observed that there was a remarkably small degree of variation between the basic forms of the text.[7] Lack of variation seemed to be continued when the text appeared in print, but further investigation demonstrates that the successive printed editions show a process of adaptation. The text as first printed was close to the linguistic form in which it had circulated in the early years of the fifteenth century; in successive editions from c. 1494 by Richard

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3   Quarta pars, Cap. xxvi. Sargent, *Mirror*, pp. 105, 35. In all the following examples I have referred in this way as point of reference in the text to Michael G. Sargent (ed.), *Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686, with Introduction, Notes and Glossary* (Exeter, 2005). This is an expanded and revised edition of his text edition published in New York, 1992.

4   See the introduction to Sargent (2005). For a shorter general introduction, see Michael G. Sargent (ed.), *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text* (Exeter, 2004).

5   Sargent, *Mirror* (2005), p. vii, and the stemma in Sargent (2004 and 2005), see notes 3 and 4 above.

6   A.I. Doyle, 'The Study of Nicholas Love's Mirror, Retrospect and Prospect', in Shoichi Oguro etc. (eds.), *Nicholas Love at Waseda: Proceedings of the International Conference 20–22 July 1995* (Cambridge, 1997) (from here on quoted as *NLW*), pp. 163–174. Sargent (2005), p. intro 1.

7   See the introduction to Sargent, *Mirror* (2005).

Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde, changes to the language were introduced to make the text more accessible to the readership that these printers could expect for their books in the 1490s and later years. The evolution of the language over more than a century, from the time of the manuscript that was Caxton's exemplar to that of De Worde's quarto edition of 1530 (c. 1410 to c. 1530), was thus condensed into the much shorter timespan of c. 1494 to 1530 as the printed editions followed their line of descent independently of the manuscript traditions.

Several recent studies lead to understanding the position of Caxton's edition and that of the editions in England that followed, beginning with those included in the proceedings of the conference held in 1995 at Waseda University, Tokyo, devoted entirely to Love's text.[8] Carol Meale presented there a meticulous study of the ownership inscriptions of manuscripts of the *Mirror*. By mapping the ownership of surviving manuscripts along sociological pathways, she showed that the text was first associated with aristocrats who belonged to the circle of the founders of Mount Grace (where Nicholas Love was first rector, and later prior), and in the course of time extended to gentry and urban well-to-do merchants and their families in metropolitan London.[9] A few years later Mary Erler traced further owners of the *Mirror* in her discussion of lay devotion in the fifteenth century.[10]

Two other studies in the *Proceedings* of the Waseda conference contributed to new insights. In his extensive analysis of the textual affiliations of Love's *Mirror*, Michael Sargent concluded that textually Caxton's version belongs to the earliest grouping of manuscripts;[11] the earliest of this group even has the mark

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8   *NLW*, see n. 6 above.

9   Carol M. Meale, 'Oft siþis grete deuotion I þought what I miȝt do pleysyng to god: The Early Ownership and Readership of Love's *Mirror*, with Special Reference to Its Female Audience', in *NLW*, pp. 19–46.

10   Mary. C. Erler, 'Devotional Literature', in HBB III, pp. 494–525 (pp. 516–518), partly quoting from A.I. Doyle's unpublished Ph.D. thesis *A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries, with Special Consideration to the Part of the Clergy Therein* (University of Cambridge, 1953).

11   Michael G. Sargent, 'The Textual Affiliations of the Waseda Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ', in *NLW*, pp. 175–274. This is based on his text edition of 1992 (see note 3 above), a section of which was elaborated in a stemmatic presentation in *NLW* (p. 194). This presentation was once again altered in his revised text edition (Exeter, 2005). In the development of Sargent's stemmatic presentations the position of Caxton's editions remains unchanged. Following the chronology of production he places them at the end of the sequence of his earliest category, 'Alpha 1'; this placement

of ownership of Mount Grace itself, and another bears the coats of arms of Beaufort and Neville, and is speculatively linked to Cecily Neville, mother of Edward IV and Richard III, or (as suggested by Mary Erler) to Joan, Countess of Westmorland, or her brother Thomas, Duke of Exeter.[12] Yet another bears the coat of arms of Robert, Lord Willoughby de Eresby (d. 1452).[13] Following Sargent's analysis we may assume that the exemplar that was used for Caxton's edition in the printing house, a manuscript no longer extant, was textually close to the 'aristocratic' manuscripts of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, with linguistic features of its time and regional forms indicating its Yorkshire origin. Although any deviations from his actual exemplar remain unknown, from the archaic and regional forms in Caxton's two editions (which do not occur in his own prose) we can infer that he was not interfering with it by editing and modernising it, as he did demonstrably with other English prose—for example, the *Chronicles of England*.[14] He seems to have deliberately preserved all the archaic and regional features of the language; modernising of the English text did not take place until it was in the hands of later printers, the language of their editions reflecting the change in expected readership. Caxton seems to have respected the authority of his exemplar in the form he encountered, almost—but not quite—as if it were a scriptural text, despite the fact that Arundel's approval for lay reading practically defined the text as non-scriptural. Authority is embedded in the tradition of Love's text. Archbishop Arundel's mandate to release the text for edification of the faithful and refuting the heresy of the Lollards is carefully reproduced as a 'Memorandum' in several of the early manuscripts as well as in Caxton's and following editions. Caxton also included the translator's note beginning 'Attende lector' and explaining the marginal letters 'B' and 'N', which indicate as source 'Bonaventura' or 'Nicholas' and which are intermingled with the printed marginalia with Latin quotes from authorities; they are a characteristic feature of the early manuscripts.

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obscures his conclusion that Caxton's version is very close to the earliest manuscripts in this group.

12   Meale, 'Oft siþis grete deuotion', p. 23; Kathleen Scott, 'The Illustration and Decoration of Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*', in *NLW*, pp. 71–72. Erler, 'Devotional Literature' (see note 10 above).

13   Erler, 'Devotional Literature', p. 517 (see note 10 above).

14   Sargent (1992), p. xc, noted only one telling variant in Caxton's editions in the samples he collated: 'vpsteyng'—apparently an incomprehensible form by 1484—became 'ascendyng'.

Kathleen Scott surveyed in the Waseda collection the illumination and decoration of the surviving manuscripts, which led her to classify their grade of luxury. She noted that after the early years, and certainly by the middle of the century, the interest in the text, and with it the level of its decoration, seemed to be 'tapering-off',[15] but even so the manuscripts were still well decorated.

Although Sargent drew a clear distinction between three branches in the transmission of the text—further divided into subbranches, five of which existed already early in the century[16]—the consistency of the surviving manuscripts of the *Mirror* is remarkable, even more so when compared with the versions in Latin and in other vernacular languages. The text of the Latin *Meditationes* that served as basis for Nicholas Love's translation and compilation has a far from stable tradition, surviving in many distinct versions. Another stark contrast between the Latin and the English version is that the original Latin text, written by a friar for a Poor Clare, belongs entirely to the tradition of Franciscan devotion, associated with poverty and simplicity.[17] The manuscripts of the Latin versions and their many translations were unostentatious little books, usually in small formats, with or without illustrations of scenes of the life of Christ. When the Latin text began to appear in print, the simplicity of the presentation continued. This emphasised the intimacy of private meditation and devotion, whether for lay people or readers in religious orders. The consistently luxurious presentation of Nicholas Love's translation in manuscript therefore seems to break with a tradition of a deliberate expression of poverty. Carthusian strictness and asceticism, and Love's strong emphasis on meditation and humility, apparently did not impose restraints on the ornate presentation of the English text for the first aristocratic owners of the manuscripts.

Since Sargent placed Caxton's two editions according to their dates (c. 1484 and c. 1489) towards the end of the stemmatic presentation of the manuscript tradition of the English text, although showing that they belong to its early, Carthusian tradition, we may appreciate their first appearance in print in a new light. Caxton's exemplar would probably not have ranged with the grandest manuscripts, but the high level of decoration that is characteristic for many of the surviving early manuscripts allows us to form a general idea of what he sought to emulate in the medium of print when he produced his first

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15   Scott, 'Illustration and Decoration', pp. 61–86 (p. 69).

16   Sargent (1992), p. lxxxix, (2004), p. xxxv, (2005), p. intro 96–97.

17   The Franciscan nature and background of the *Meditationes* is set out in Sargent (2005), pp. intro 2–32, and by Sarah McNamer, 'The Origins of the Meditationes vitae Christi', *Speculum*, 84/4 (2009), pp. 905–955.

edition (which was faithfully reproduced in his second). Its format—small folio—is similar to that of many of the manuscripts, and one copy of the second edition is even extant on vellum, the material chosen for most of the surviving manuscripts. It once belonged to Susan Purefeye, a nun at Syon Abbey.[18]

In his first edition Caxton offered the best typography available to him, a brand-new fount of type, used here for the first time.[19] It was a textura type, a smaller version of what had been a successful display type made for him by Johan Veldener. At that time he did not have a woodcut border to substitute for the colourful borders in the manuscripts, but he had recently acquired sets of woodcut initials. Best of all, he had procured for this book a set of 25 fine woodcuts of scenes of the life of Christ, complemented by three smaller woodcuts of more general religious use.[20] Thus equipped, Caxton produced an edition that was much influenced by the Carthusian manuscripts produced probably at least 50 years earlier.

Caxton's second edition (c. 1489–1490), printed with the same materials, aimed to be an exact reproduction of his first. It would have succeeded but for a printing house mishap that helpfully leads us now to distinguish the printers who used a copy of his first edition as exemplar from those who used his second. About five years later Richard Pynson reprinted Caxton's second edition, reproducing its features as well as he could, although he had to copy the set of woodcuts. Some textual variants began to creep in. At about the same time, in 1494, Wynkyn de Worde reprinted the book with the advantage of having Caxton's woodcuts and initials at his disposal. He began his version as a page-for-page reprint of Caxton's versions (he used the first edition), but halfway through the book, the not always successful attempts to follow Caxton's layout were abandoned, and changes in spelling and vocabulary became frequent. At this point De Worde or his compositors appear to have cut loose from the regional and archaic forms that had been preserved by Caxton, and apparently a decision was taken that—after all—the book should meet the requirements of a new readership. Caxton's words regarding archaic language come to mind: 'And certaynly our langage now vsed varyeth ferre from that whiche was vsed and spoken when I was borne'.[21]

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18   BMC XI, p. 173, IB. 55119.

19   Caxton Type 5: 113G. The dating of Caxton's first edition is based on the use of paper stocks, see Paul Needham, BMC XI, p. 316.

20   Hodnett 309–333. Additional woodcuts are Hodnett 341, 346, 351 (first *Horae* set).

21   *The Boke of Eneydos*, Westminster, William Caxton, c. 1490, Duff 404. Caxton's prologue, fol. A2ᵃ.

¶How the chyld Jhe-
fus was lefte allone in
Jherufalem. Capitulum
Duonecimum

Whan the chyld Jhe-
fus was tuelue ye
re olde. & his dere moder
wyth Jofeph went in to
Jherufalem . for the feſte
day that laſt eyght dayes
after the bidding & the cuſ
tome of the lawe.he went
alſo wyth them in that tendir age trauaylynge alle that long

The next surviving edition is the last to appear in folio format; published in 1506 it shows that Pynson was by then well able to improve on his previous edition. From then on the reprints were all published by Wynkyn de Worde, who switched them to a quarto format and omitted the *Treatise of the Sacrament* and prayers that had been part of Nicholas Love's compilation and were included in the manuscripts belonging to the early group and in the four printed folio editions. In De Worde's four quarto editions that survive (of c. 1506, 1517, 1525, and 1530) the substantive variants are few, and those are often the result of misreading or minor misprints rather than deliberate attempts at emendation. But the language was steadily modified and modernised. In their presentation De Worde's more modest books, despite being, like most of his work at that time, rather too full of typographical ornamentation, appear to be a deliberate return to the simplicity of intimate, private devotion, in line with his taste for mystics and other works that emphasised meditation. This taste manifested itself as soon as De Worde started publish-

ing, shortly after Caxton's death.[22] What appears to be De Worde's personal preference goes hand in hand with a change in the kind of readership he appears to have expected; his quarto editions of the *Mirror* conform to the formats in which he published devotional texts from the late 1490s on. They also conform to the presentation of the *Meditationes* that had developed on the Continent. The numerous printed editions in Latin and Italian that appeared from 1485 onwards were without exception quarto or octavo editions, and, like most of the manuscripts of the *Meditationes*, were modest in execution, even when they were illustrated. They seem closer to the original Franciscan concept of presenting the text in unadorned simplicity than the manuscripts and earliest printed editions of Love's translation. Although there are only a few records of early English ownership of the Continental printed *Meditationes* (discussed below, section III), it is unlikely that they were unknown to De Worde, especially the numerous editions of a Latin version produced in Paris. The influence of Parisian printing on De Worde (and also on Pynson) goes far beyond the form given to his later editions of the *Mirror*, but in the specific case of this text, it would seem that the presentation of the Continental versions agreed with his own notion that Nicholas Love's text should be treated as destined for private, intimate reading and meditation in a spirit of simplicity.

The end of Wynkyn de Worde's career as a printer coincides with the beginning of the Reformation in England. After his death, no printer in England continued publishing the *Mirror*. In the early decades of the seventeenth century the text was rediscovered by recusant printers in Douai and Saint-Omer, who produced (at least) three editions in duodecimo format, very small books for very private reading.

Collation of selected sections of the text in surviving editions demonstrates the evolution of the text in a timespan of somewhat less than 50 years (1484–1530), from a text with many of the features of usage of early fifteenth-century Yorkshire to one that was acceptable to metropolitan readers of a much wider social range than the aristocrats living in the early decades of the fifteenth century who were the first readers of Love's translation and compilation. The *Mirror*, in manuscript and print, may be an exceptional example of the stable transmission of a text which for many years was almost held as sacred, but eventually not so sacred as to prevent a process of evolution by

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22   On Wynkyn de Worde's preference for devotional texts, see BMC XI, p. 49, and my *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London, 2010), the chapter 'Printing devotional texts in English', pp. 156–170.

adaptation to new generations of readers, and to a change in concepts of religiosity.

Collation of the Printed Editions[23]

A passage taken from an early part of the text may serve to demonstrate the nature of the transmission:

1. Prima pars, Cap. v; C1/2: c4^b, ll. 15–17
   Sargent, *Mirror* (2005), p. 34.18–20:

C1	WHat tyme that	oure lady and Joseph hir spouse	dwelle‖den to gyder	aud (*sic*)
C2	WHat tyme that	oure lady and Joseph hyr spouse	dwelleden to gyder.	and
W1	WHat tyme that	oure lady & Joseph hir spouse	dwelleden to gyder/	and
P1	WHat tyme	oure lady and Joseph hir spouse	dwellyd to gedre	and
P2	(w)Hat tyme	our lady & Joseph hir spouse	dwelled togede	&
W2	WHat tyme that	our lady and Joseph hir spouse	dwelled to gyder/	and
W3	WHat tyme that	our lady and Joseph hir spouse	dwelled togyder/	and
W4	WHat tyme that	oure lady and Joseph hir spouse	dwelled togyder/	&
W5	WHat tyme that	our lady & Joseph her spouse	dwelled togyder/	and
D	In the meane time that	our blessed Ladie and Iosephe were espoused,	before they came to dwel together:	–

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23   The following sections of text are collated, with reference to Sargent's text edition (2005) and Caxton's editions (C1 and C2):

   Sargent (2005), p. 34.18–37: Prima pars, Cap v.; C1/2: c4^b, l. 15–c5^a, l. 1.
   p. 77.15–p. 79.11: Tercia pars, Cap. xvi, xvii; C1/2: g8^b, l. 17–h2^a, l. 5.
   p. 104.36–106.29: Quarta pars, Cap. xxvi, xxvii; C1/2: i 1^b, l. 4–i2^b, l. 24
   p. 109.13–110.27: Quarta pars, Cap. xxviii; C1/2: i4^a, l. 17–i5^a, l. 5
   p. 116.22–118.5: Quarta pars, Cap. xxxiii; C1/2: k1^a, l. 2–k1^b, l. 32
   p. 139.20–32: Quinta pars, Cap. xxxvii; C1/2 l7^b l. 15–l8^a, l. 7
   p. 159.25–160.8: Quinta pars, Cap. xl; C1/2: n3^b, ll. 1–14
   p. 167.20–168.17: Quinta pars, Cap. xli; C1/2: n8^a, l. 12–n8^b, l. 20
   p. 182.8–183.6: Quinta pars, Cap. xlvii; C1/2: p1^a, l. 22–p1^b, l. 22
   p. 223.1–224.12: Treatise of the Sacrament; C1/2: s1^b, l. 1–s2^a, l. 14.
   The editions are indicated as C1, C2, P1, P2, W1, W2, W3, W4, W5, D. I have not included the editions printed in Saint-Omer.

C1	hir blessyd sone Jhesus day by day en ‖ creaced	bodyly in his moder wombe
C2	hyr blessyd sone Jhesus day by day encreaced	bodyly in his moder wombe
W1	hir blessyd sone Jhesus day by day encreaced	bodyly in hys moder wombe
P1	hir blessyd sonne Jhesus daye by daye encreaced	bodely in his moders wombe
P2	hir blessid son Jesus day by day encreaced	bodely in his moders wombe
W2	her blessed sone Jhesus daye by daye encreased	bodyly in hys moders wombe
W3	her blessed sone Jhesus daye by daye encreased	bodyly in hys moders wombe
W4	her blyssed sone Jesus daye by daye encreased	bodyly in his mothers wombe
W5	her blyssed sone Jesus daye by daye encreased	bodely in his mothers wombe
D	hir blessed sonne iesus day by day encreased	bodelie in his mothers wombe

There are slight differences in spelling and in linguistic forms such as *dwelleden*, which becomes *dwelled*, and the genitive *mothers* for *moder*, with the result that even in this small example some modernisation of the language can be detected. The Douai edition of the early seventeenth century expands, interprets, and paraphrases the text to such an extent that it is difficult to judge from what copy-text it is derived. I shall therefore leave it out of consideration of the relation of the printed editions, although I think it is likely that one of the editions printed after 1500 served as copy-text.

From this coherent image it is tempting to deduce that the textual transmission is entirely linear, the second edition following the first, the third the second, and so on. However, there is just enough irregularity in the transmission to show that the line of descent is not quite as straight as that, although there remains the impression that we deal here with a text that is treated with care, undoubtedly with piety, and possibly with a wish to preserve the words which were considered original. We do not find here the amendments introduced into a text that are inspired by the wish to present it to readers in a 'pristine' state, that is, as if it were brand new and appealing to contemporary actuality, which can even be attempted by interfering with its substance, as has sometimes been established for other texts.

Divergence can only be shown by going into detail. In the case of the two Caxton editions the variations are small. Caxton reprinted his first edition after some five years, in a page-for-page reprint using the same type, and obviously with the intention of achieving a careful reproduction of the first edition. In one place a printing house error allows us a closer glimpse at production procedures. The error came to light when two copies of this rare book came to repose together temporarily in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth during the Second World War, when the British Museum sent its rare book collections there to be kept in safety. Dr Victor Scholderer accompanied the collections,

and in return for the hospitality prepared during this time a catalogue of the incunabula of his host.[24] Comparison of the Aberystwyth copy with the evacuated London copy showed that the third sheet of quire e (e3–6) existed in two different typesettings, and that in the Aberystwyth copy the four pages of that sheet were printed in the wrong order, resulting in the sequence e3ᵃ, e6ᵃ, e3ᵇ, e6ᵇ. The pages e3ᵇ and e6ᵇ obviously had swapped places in the inner forme of the sheet before it was put on the press. The error had to be corrected by resetting the whole sheet.[25] This shows that even straightforward resetting to repair an error can lead to considerable variation in spelling, as the following passage of seven lines on leaf e3ᵇ, ll. 1–8, demonstrates. In the first typesetting (cancellandum, *NLW* copy e6ᵃ) the passage runs in full:

2. Secunda pars, Cap. xii. C1, e6ᵃ

> ❡How the child Jheꝛ ||us was lefte allone in || Jherusalem. Capitlum || Duodecimum. ||| WHan the chyld Jhe || s⁹ was twelue yeꝛ || re old and hys dere moꝛ || der with ioseph wēt into || Jherusalem: For the feste || day that last eight dayes || after the biddīg ꝛ the cus || tome of the lawe he wēte || also wy ththem in that tendir age trauayllynge alle that. lon || (e6ᵇ)[ge] …

For Caxton's second setting (e3ᵇ) see Fig. 13.1. Collation of the two settings shows the following differences:

NLW	Capitlum	Jhes⁹	yeꝛ||re	old	and	hys	with	ioseph	wēt
BL	Capitulum	Jhesus	ye||re	olde.	ꝛ	his	wyth	Joseph	went

NLW	into	Jherusalem:	For	eight	biddīg	lawe	wēte	wy tthem	that.	longe
BL	in to	Jherusalem.	for	eyght	bidding	lawe.	went	wyth them	that	long

24   Victor Scholderer, *Hand-list of Incunabula in the National Library of Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1940). Caxton's second edition of the *Mirror* is no. 116 in this list.

25   Similar resetting of wrongly imposed sheets has come to light in other Caxton editions which were printed at about the same time: in his second edition of *The Mirrour of the World* (c. 1489–1490, Duff 402), *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* (c. 1490, Duff 45), and most famously in *The Fifteen Oes* (c. 1491, Duff 150). In *Fayts of arms* (1489, Duff 96) the misimposed sheet was not replaced in any of the known copies. See my discussion 'Compositors' Practice: Resetting of Texts in Caxton's Printing-House', in Takami Matsuda etc. (eds.), *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector* (Cambridge—Otsuka, 2004), pp. 295–312.

The marginalia—which had an important function indicating sources and supporting arguments of the text—were omitted in three out of four pages of the resetting, and the headlines got confused.[26] The effects of the error persist in the editions derived from Caxton's second edition. This small mishap also allows us to conclude that the four pages of a sheet were in type at the same time. The method of production was therefore undoubtedly *per formes*, and sheets were completed by immediately perfecting the sheet after printing one side. This is the procedure which can generally be assumed to be the standard in Caxton's workshop from c. 1480 on,[27] but it is always welcome to have further proof.

Despite the great care that is generally evident in the reprinting (including the correction of the flawed sheet), there are a few variations in the samples of text collated for the two Caxton editions to provide a basis for distinctions in the affiliation of the later editions. Two of these variants are merely in spelling, and four are substantive, affecting the text, although they are all very slight. Their significance becomes clear, however, when we look at the subsequent editions. Some context is provided on the basis of Sargent, *Mirror* (2005). Here are the first two instances of variation in spelling:

3. Prima pars, Cap.v; C1/2, c4^b, l. 19
    Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 34.21: … was wondur sory & gretly disturblet

C1	distourbled
C2	distroubled
W1	dystourbled
P1	distroubled

4. Tercia pars, Cap. xvi; C1/2: g1^a, l. 19
    Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 78.13–14: … men of rude & buystes condiciones, & of symple lynage:

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26   Headlines were badly mixed up in several other parts of the edition, e.g. all through quires b, c8^b, e1^b, e8^b; in quire h the headlines of h1^b and h8^a were swapped in the make-up of the inner forme of the outer sheet.

27   See p. 19, above.

C1	lygnage
C2	lynage
W1	lygnage
P1	lynage

The following four examples are instances of minor substantive variants.

5. Tercia pars, Cap. xvi; C1/2: g1ᵃ, l. 11
   Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 78.6: … & also goyng with hem oft to hir duellynges.

C1	duellynges
C2	duellynge
W1	dwellynges
P1	dwellinge

6. Quarta pars, Cap. xxvi; C1/2: i1ᵇ, l. 17
   Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 105.11: … gude fort duelle euere with hir lorde.

C1	euer
C2	euer more
W1	euer
P1	euer more

7. Quarta pars, Cap. xxviii; C1/2: i4ᵃ, l. 24
   Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 109.19–20: Bot oure lord seyng þat þei charget more þe washing …

C1	seynge
C2	sayenge
W1	seenge
P1	saynge

8. Treatise of the Sacrament; C1/2: s1ᵇ, ll. 24–25

Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 223.15–16: … & mekely standen in þe stedefast byleue of holi chirch.

C1	mekely stāden	in	stedfast	bileue of holy chirche.
C2	mekely stand		fast in	bileue of holy chyrche.
W1	mekely standen	in	stedfaste	byleue of holy chyrche.
P1	mekely stande		fast in	byleue of holy church.

A few other instances are no more than small typographical mishaps which nevertheless left their mark on the subsequent editions. I include here the later editions. The first example may be either a turned type or an effect of uncertainty about the meaning of the word 'mened', i.e. 'mingled'.

9. Quarta pars, Cap. xxxvii; C1/2: l8ᵃ, l. 20

Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 140.7–8: Bot wiþ þis ioy oure lorde Jesus meynede sorowe & wepyng

C1	our lord	mened	sorow
C2	our lord	meued	sorowe
W1	our lorde	meaned	sorow
P1	oure lorde	meuyd	sorowe
P2	our lorde	meued	sorowe
W2	our lorde	meaned	sorow
W3	our lorde	meaned	sorowe
W4	our lorde	meued	sorowe
W5	our lorde	meued	sorowe

In the Douai edition this sentence had become: 'our Saviour was moued to weepinge'. In the following example the loss of the letter *o* in the typesetting of the word 'other' caused much confusion in the Pynson editions, which do not make sense of the passage.

10. Quarta pars, Cap. xli; C1/2: n8^b, l. 1
     Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 167.35 begins:

> And so in þat metyng to gedire of oure lorde Jesu & hem꞉

and continues:

Sargent	& siht of	oþere꞉	Þere was grete sorowe	on boþe parties.
C1	and syghte of	other/	there was grete sorowe	on bothe partyes.
C2	and syghte of	Ther.	there was grete sorowe	on bothe partyes.
W1	and syghte of	other	there was grete sorowe	on bothe partyes /
P1	and sith of	their	there was great sorowes	on both partyes.
P2	and syth of	theyr	there was great sorowes	in both partyes꞉
W2	and syghte of	other/	there was grete sorowe	on bothe partyes.
W3	and syghte	other/	there was grete sorowe	on bothe partyes.
W4	and syght	eche other/	there was grete sorowe	on bothe partyes.
W5	and syght	eche other/	there was grete sorowe	on bothe partyes.

The last of the examples of variation between the two Caxton editions shows a typographical error in the first Caxton edition, leading to a misinterpretation in the second. The correct form would surely be 'either … or'. It occurs in the Treatise on the Sacrament, and is therefore relevant only for the folio editions.

11. C1/2: s3^a, ll. 20–22
     Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 225.33–36: For awþere seche men leuen þat … or nouht.

C1	outher … noughte
C2	other
W1	eyther
P1	other
P2	other

These examples confirm what the earlier examples also have shown, that Wynkyn de Worde followed Caxton's first edition, and Pynson the second.

Wynkyn de Worde's edition reveals more about the transmission of the text. His book begins as a very faithful page-for-page reprint of Caxton's edition,

using the same woodcuts but a different typeface, his Type 2: 114G. Although this was almost the same size as Caxton's Type 5: 113G, some difficulties in copying the layout of the exemplar can be detected in the irregular spacing at the ends of pages and in overrunning. At the beginning of the seventh quire (quire g), Caxton's page layout was no longer followed as a model, and here we also see a change in the use of the Lombard capitals, because from here on only very small Lombard capitals were used. These changes, after 48 out of a total of 145 leaves with text, may indicate a division of copy among compositors. It would have been simple to divide a copy of Caxton's edition at this point, since up until then text and quire structure were the same as in the reprint. If this is so, I have not detected any effect on the transmission of the text: both before and after the transition from quire f to g the text is faithfully reproduced, with only the occasional slight lapse, some differences in punctuation, and variations in spelling. There is, however, a more dramatic change at the beginning of quire i, two quires further on, or at leaf 65ᵃ, almost halfway through the book.[28]

Superficially the change is slight: from here on the marginalia are printed in the same type as the text, whereas in the earlier quires they were printed in a smaller type. But from here on the text is treated differently by the compositor. Regional forms, so abundant in both of Caxton's editions, are replaced by vocabulary which was apparently judged to be more acceptable to the metropolitan user. This is particularly striking in the use of the word 'mykel', which the second compositor replaced systematically with 'much'. It is a frequently used word, and this enables us to check that in De Worde's edition, in the 16 pages of quire g the word 'mykel' occurs 21 times, and in quire h about 10 times, against four occurrences of 'much'. From quire i on, 'mykel' does not occur.[29] Other forms consistently replaced are the verb to 'clepe', 'sythe' in the sense of 'times', and the pronoun 'hem' for 'them'. The passage about the burial of Christ (Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 184.12–25) shows the shift away from three forms: 'dight', 'barme', and 'mykel':

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28   From what can be ascertained from the unique imperfect copy, Caxton's first edition has the same structure as the second: a–s⁸, t⁴, 148 leaves, the first blank. In Wynkyn de Worde's first edition the final quires are structured differently: a–q8, r–t⁶, 146 leaves, with woodcuts on the first recto and verso (see BMC XI, pp. 172, 191–192). The break in production between the end of quire h and the beginning of quire i in Wynkyn de Worde's edition corresponds with Sargent, *Mirror* (1992), p. 107.1.

29   Jeremy J. Smith, 'Dialect and Standardisation in the Waseda Manuscript of Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ', in NLW, pp. 129–141, observed (p. 139) that the form 'mykel' might have become an 'expected' part in the Love tradition.

12. Quinta pars, Cap. xlvii; C1/2: p2ᵃ, l. 28–p2ᵇ, ll. 9–12

Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 184. 1–2, 15, 17, … she wolde suffre þe bodye to be diht … diht … diht

C1	to be dyȝte	… dyȝte	… dyghte
C2	to be dyȝt	… dyȝte	… dyȝhte
W1	to be dressed	… drese	… dresse
P1	to be dight	… dight	… dight
P2	to be dight	… dight	… dight

13. Quinta pars, Cap. xlvii; C1/2: p2ᵇ, l. 12

Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 184.14–15: … oure lady kept alweye þe hede in hir barme

C1	barme
C2	barme
W1	lappe
P1	barme
P2	arme

14. Quinta pars, Cap. xlvii; C1/2: p2ᵇ, ll. 15, 18, 20

Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 184.18, 21, 23: … so miche grace … miche more … louede mikele

C1	so mykel grace	now mykel more	mykel loued
C2	mykel	myke	mykel loued
W1	moche	moch	moche loued
P1	moche	moche	moch loued
P2	moche	moche	moche loued

In examples of the shift away from the forms 'clepe', 'redene', and 'sythes', the later editions are included:

15. Quarta pars, Cap. xxvi–xxvii; C1/2: i1^b, l. 28; i2^a, ll. 18, 26

Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 105.22, 106.8, 17: … clepe him aȝeyn … we redene þat oft siþes … oft siþe

C1	clepe hym	we reden ofte sythes	… ofte sythes
C2	clepe hym	we reden ofte sythes	… sythes
W1	calle hym	we rede ofte tymes	… ofte tymes
P1	clepe him	we rede ofte sith	… ofte sithes
P2	clepe hym	oft syth	… tymes
W2	[missing]		
W3	call hym	we rede ofte tymes	… times
W4	call hym	we rede often tymes	… often tymes
W5	call hym	we rede often tymes	… often tymes

In example 14, above, only one of the forms was changed in Pynson's first edition—'mykel' to 'moche'—but this change occurs from the beginning of the book and is carried out consistently. There is no evidence at all for a direct link between Wynkyn de Worde's and Pynson's first editions, and it appears unlikely that this would have existed. The change in Pynson's edition may therefore be assumed to have been spontaneous, and is to be taken as a clear indication that the form 'mykel' must have stood out as regional, and inappropriate for his intended readership.

The inconsistency of the two halves of Wynkyn's edition is all the more remarkable. It gives us an insight into Caxton's edition: its linguistic forms so close to those of the earliest surviving manuscripts, often with regional East Midlands and Yorkshire features. Perhaps Caxton printed his editions of Nicholas Love's *Mirror* with a regional readership in mind; they were possibly even commissioned by a monastery in Northern England, instead of, as usual, a metropolitan patron. There may have been a conscious wish to preserve the character of the author's language, his 'voice', which gives such outstanding individuality to Nicholas Love's translation.

I shall continue with a further look at Pynson's editions, for their line of affiliation is the shortest and without undue complication. Pynson printed his first edition rather early in his career. There are signs that we see here the work of a not particularly well-equipped or experienced printer. When compared with his exemplar, we see that Pynson does not have the very useful device of a printed paragraph mark to lend articulation to the text, and occasionally he missed out some of the marginalia. Finding one's way in his book is

therefore more difficult than it was for the readers of the Caxton editions. His fine woodcut initials with a flowery background are a redeeming feature. It is very striking, however, that the number of lines per page is quite irregular, varying from 34 to 37 lines, with frequent overruns at the ends of pages. This suggests that the compositor had difficulty in keeping to the limits set for page length in the exemplar, in this case a copy of Caxton's second edition which was marked up for that purpose, preceding the setting of each quire. Sometimes it may be difficult to predetermine on an exemplar the length of each page to be, especially when there are breaks at the ends of chapters and woodcuts of unequal size. It must be remembered, however, that by 1494 this was a well-established routine that did not require invention, only practice. By comparing the page-ends in Pynson's first edition with Caxton's second edition, I could perceive a pattern. For each page of the Pynson edition, approximately 40 lines were counted off in the Caxton edition. This was probably done a quire at a time, sheets being worked off from outer sheet to inner sheet. The outer sheets were therefore finished first, and we can observe that in the second half of each quire the compositor ended the page as cast off, presumably because he had to do so since the following page was already in type or printed. The particular care given to the limits set to the page-endings can be detected because each page-end in the second half of the quires coincides with a line-end in Caxton's book. This constraint forced the compositor all too often into setting an irregular number of lines to the page, since clearly he had not yet acquired the skill of manoeuvring with space in a timely manner during the setting of the page, to achieve an appearance of regularity all through the typesetting.

Examples 1 and 3–11 above have already indicated how Pynson's first edition remains textually close to Caxton's second, which he used as an exemplar, with variation in spelling in only a few forms. The compositor consistently spelled 'not' for 'nat' and he always substituted 'moche' for 'mykel', but the other regional forms remained unchanged. Pynson's second edition, which, due to the state of the printer's device at the end, can be dated with some confidence as c. 1506, shows that in the intervening years Pynson and his compositors had learned a great deal; the days of a regime of damage limitation were long left behind. The book is a fine folio edition, printed with Pynson's Parisian-style text-type 7: 95G and using the same woodcut initials and illustrations as his first edition. It looks like a model of regularity and skilful typesetting, and there is certainly no trace of struggling with casting off.

In its presentation of the text the second Pynson edition seems more confident and independent than the first. Some forms which apparently were considered archaic are now frequently replaced by the metropolitan forms,

although not quite consistently, as can be seen in example 15, above, to which two further examples may be added:

16. Quinta pars, Cap. xl; C1/2: n3^b, l. 3
   Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 159.27–28: ... so enuyously pursuede so wrong[efully] demede

C1	wrongwisly	demed
C2	wrongwisly	demed
P1	wrongwysly	demyd
P2	wrongfully	

W1 also uses 'wronfully', followed by De Worde's later editions, so the original form was evidently no longer acceptable. Sometimes this led to conjecture. Example 13 has already shown that in P2 'barme' was replaced by 'arme', which is acceptable in the context, although the intimacy of the gesture is lost. In the next example the form 'aferre', in this context expressive for the disconsolate group trailing behind, was probably no longer understood and was replaced by the less poignant 'after'.

17. Quinta pars, Cap. xli; C1/2: n8^b, l. 7
   Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 168.3–4: ... oure lorde was ladde to Pilate, & þei foloweden aferre

C1	a ferre
C2	a ferre
P1	aferre
P2	after

Sometimes the examples which I collated showed in P2 a surprising departure from the copy-text. Whether this is spontaneous or derived from another, presumably manuscript source, I cannot tell. Since they are so infrequent, I am inclined to see in them the hand of an annotator or a corrector, rather than a systematic collation against a second source. Here follows one example:

18. Prima pars, Cap. v; C1/2: c4ᵇ, l. 33; c5ᵃ, l. 1

    Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 34, 36–37: … & ouercomyng himself with pite. þouht þat he wold priuely leue hire.

C1	and ouercomyng	hym self wyth pyte.	thought/	that he wold	pryuely		leue hir/
C2	and ouercomynge	hym self wyth pyte	thought	that he wold	pryuely		leue hyr.
P1	and ouercomynge	him silf with pyte:	–	that he wolde	pryuely		leue hyr.
P2	and ouercam	hymselfe wythe pyte.	and entended	–	pryvely	to	leue hyr.

At almost the same time as Pynson's second edition, Wynkyn de Worde produced a reprint of his book. STC gives it the date as c. 1507. Since both editions—Pynson's and De Worde's—are undated, and in the absence of arguments for more accurate dating, there are no grounds for determining which of them is earlier; since they are independent from each other the question is academic. Wynkyn's edition (W2) is an innovation in so far that it is printed in quarto format and does includes neither the 'Treatise on the Sacrament' nor the prayers which concluded Love's compilation. It has the same series of woodcuts which Wynkyn de Worde had inherited from Caxton and used in his previous edition. There are woodcut initials and typographical fleurons and border pieces, adding to the impression that all this embellishment is jostling for space in the small book. Even the marginalia look as if they were squeezed in. The edition survives only in one copy (in the Bodleian Library), and an imperfect one at that. There is therefore even less basis for textual collations than for the other books, but what there is indicates that the text of De Worde's first edition (and not one of the four other editions which had preceded it) was followed carefully. Here are two examples to demonstrate this:

19. Quarta pars, Cap. xxvi. C1/2: i2ᵃ, l. 8

    Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 105.34: … cristes blessed life …

C1	Crystes	blessyd	lyf
C2	Cristes	blessyd	lyf
W1	crystes	–	lyf
P1	cristis	blessyd	lyf
P2	crystis	blessyd	lyfe
W2	Crystes	–	lyfe
W3	crystes	–	lyf

20. Quarta pars, Cap. xxxvij. C1/2: l8ᵃ, l. 18
    Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 140.6: … & gret joy

C1	grete Joye
C2	grete Joye
W1	grete Joyes
P1	greate Joy
P2	Grete ioy
W2	grete Joyes
W3	grete Joyes

Following the text of Wynkyn de Worde's first edition had one remarkable effect: as set out above, in the earlier part of De Worde's edition until a point in Chapter 26 where quire i begins, the regional or archaic forms were left unchanged. They were largely left unchanged in the corresponding part of De Worde's second edition, but now they were unrelated to the actual structure of that book. Thus, the composition and production of the first edition and its influence on the actual form of the text are carried over into De Worde's second edition. That said, it must be noted that some forms are replaced occasionally in the first part, some 'mykel's and 'clepe's make place for 'moche' and 'call'. Nevertheless, a difference in linguistic forms remains perceptible.

I have included Wynkyn's third edition in the previous example, a quarto edition along the same lines as the previous one, with the date 4 March 1517. The two examples indicate (and there is more evidence in the sections I have collated) that the 1517 edition belongs to the same line of descent. It is practically a line-for-line reproduction of W2, and there is therefore no doubt that a copy of W2 was its exemplar. There are still some traces here of the

original division among compositors in W1, but they are getting scarcer as more archaic or regional forms are replaced. Ten years on, such forms had apparently become entirely unacceptable. A further instance of this development is found in W4 (followed by W5), in the description of the manner of Christ's entrance into Jerusalem (Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 139.22, 'in a newe manere & an vnkeþ'), where 'vncouthe' is replaced by 'straunge'. The Latin text has here 'novo et inconsueto modo'.[30] By 1525, the date of W4, the word 'uncouth', meaning at the time of the original text (according to Sargent's glossary) 'unknown, foreign', must have acquired connotations which were inappropriate to the situation described, and I wonder whether the editor of W4, sensitive to possible misinterpretation, consulted (as I did) the Latin version.

In the same passage, we have in W3 an instance of what a compositor could do to a text when problems with space compelled him to interfere. Here it all begins with the compositor in 1517 using a smaller initial at the beginning of a chapter than his colleague in 1507. The result for the text of having to absorb additional space is as follows:

21. Quarta pars, Cap. xxxvii; C1/2: l7ᵇ, ll. 17–22
   Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 139.20–22:

> þe soneday after erely vpon þe morowe oure lorde Jesus disposede him as he hade seide to go in to Jerusalem in a newe manere & an vnkeþ

W2	The sondaye after erly	vpon	the morowe		our lorde Jhesus –	dysposed hym –
W3	The sondaye after erly	in	the mornynge tyme	our lorde Jesus	had	dysposed hyȝ to do

W2, W3: as he had sayd to go in to Jherusalem in a newe maner and an vncou //the

The page-end in the two editions is the same, after the compositor of W3 had managed to fill the surplus space by expanding the text with 13 extra characters as well as additional spaces.

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30 The Latin text was edited by Mary Stallings-Taney, *Iohannis de Caulibus: Meditaciones vite Christi olim* S. *Bonaventuro attributae* [Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 153] (Turnhout, 1997). The words '... inconsueto modo' are found on p. 237, Ch. LXXI. 6.

Another corruption is found in W3, but it may in fact have first occurred in W2, where the leaf in the unique copy which contains this passage is missing. The reason for suspecting this is that this reading is also found in W4 and W5, which do not derive from W3. The corruption had started as a typographical error in Caxton's second edition (possibly also an association between 'regard' and 'contemplation'); this was followed by Pynson. Wynkyn de Worde printed the correct form in his first edition.

22. Quarta pars, Cap. xxxiii; C1/2: k1^b, l. 26
    Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 117.40–41: ... & now as takyng no reward þerto, bot sittyng & tentyng onely to þe swete contemplacion of Jesu

C1	reward
C2	regard
W1	rewarde
P1	regarde
P2	regarde
[W2]	*missing*
W3	regarde
W4	regarde
W5	regarde

There are a few more such examples of departures from the copy-text in W3. A particularly striking one occurs in the meditation in Chapter 40, where Nicholas Love, and Caxton following him, speak of Christ's being 'wrongwisly demed', emended to 'wronfully' and 'wrongfully' in De Worde's and Pynson's second editions, as shown in example 16 above. In De Worde's third edition we find this as 'wonderfully demed'. No trace of such corruption is found in De Worde's two later editions, and it is therefore clear that W3 was not used as exemplar for either of them.

Wynkyn de Worde may even have become aware of the defects of the text he produced in 1517, for his later editions, the fourth and the fifth, printed in 1525 and 1530, respectively, have some traces of correction and emendation. They are in layout very close to W2 and W3, quarto editions with the same series of woodcuts, and rather busily ornamented. The fourth edition (W4) is partly a page-for-page reprint of one of its quarto predecessors, and since none of the idiosyncratic readings of W3 are there, we may conclude that the exemplar was a copy of the edition W2. But a few readings vary, and, if they

are not contextually determined corrections, may have been taken from an edition in the line that descended from Caxton's second edition to Pynson in 1506. It was perhaps this beautifully presented book which carried the weight of authority, and someone in Wynkyn's workshop may have thought it worthwhile to consult this version and introduce readings from it. Yet it cannot have served as sole exemplar for Wynkyn's fourth edition; the family relationship with W2 and W3 is close, in page and quire structure and general layout, as well as the majority of the readings, and it is hard to see it as anything other than a direct descendant from the earlier De Worde versions. In the sections I have collated, these extraneous readings occur particularly in Chapter 26. In example 6 above, W1, following C1, has the reading 'euer' against 'euermore' in C2, followed by P1 and P2. This passage is missing in W2, but W3 also has 'euer'. W4 and W5, however, have the reading 'euermore'. Two further examples occur in the following passage:

23. Quarta pars, Cap. xxvi; C1/2: ii^b, ll. 24, 27

Sargent, *Mirror*, p. 105.18–21: Bot he doþ oþerewyes … touching his special confort

C1	other weyes.	his
C2	other wyse	hyr
W1	other wayes	his
P1	otherwise	hir
P2	otherwyse	hir
[W2]	*missing*	
W3	otherways	his
W4	otherwyse	her
W5	otherwise	her

The interrelation of the nine editions can be summed up in a stemma that is neither particularly complex nor entirely straightforward.

Stemma

c. 1484	Caxton 1
c. 1489	Caxton 2
c. 1494	de Worde 1 Pynson 1
1500	- -
c. 1506	de Worde 2 Pynson 2
1517	de Worde 3
1525	de Worde 4
1530	de Worde 5
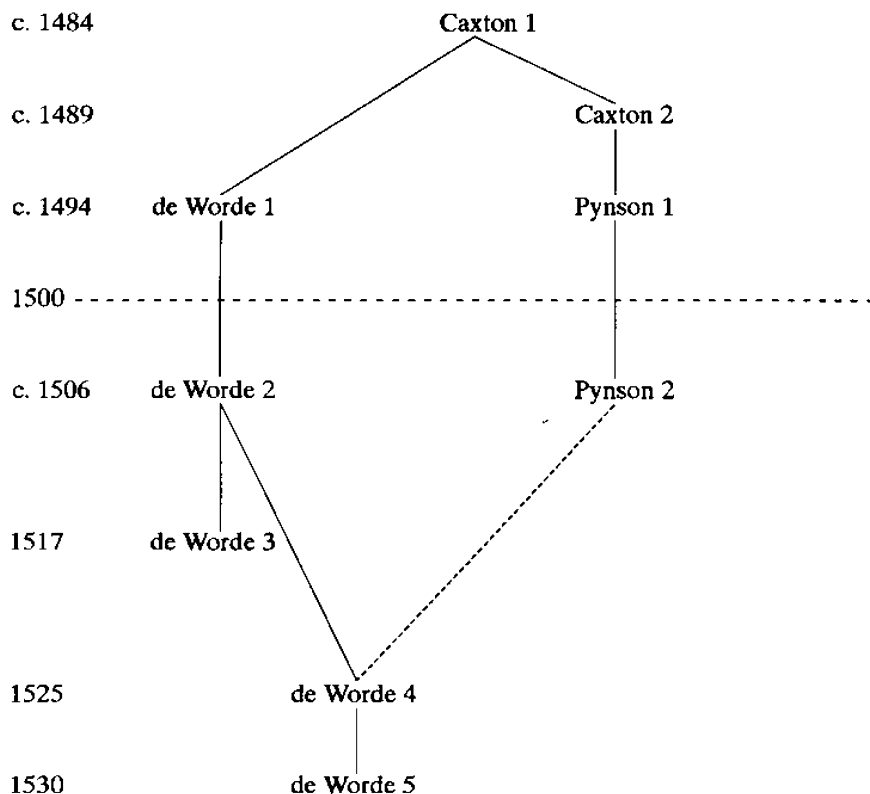
Background to the English Printed Editions: Early Dissemination of the *Meditationes*

The survival of some 300 manuscript and at least 67 incunable editions is a clear indication of the wide dissemination of the original text in Latin, and an even wider one in translation. About 120 manuscripts of the Latin texts are known,[31] and as many as some 180 in translations in vernacular languages,

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31 Lyn Maxwell, 'Mapping the Meditations: A Survey of Recent Research on the Pseudo-Bonaventura Meditationes vitae Christi and Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ', *Bulletin of International Medieval Research*, 13 (2007), pp. 18–30, referring for the number of manuscripts to earlier literature.

of which the 61 extant English manuscripts are a substantial part, the others being in Italian, Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Irish, and Swedish. For late medieval lay readers the translations, especially when illustrated, were the most widely accepted single narrative of the life and passion of Christ. The records of surviving editions printed in the incunable period show its success in print, but the dissemination of the text in manuscript did not end with the invention of printing.

ISTC and GW record all 67 editions,[32] 26 editions in Latin, the earliest printed in 1468 in Augsburg by Günther Zainer, which remained an isolated instance. Of the extant editions of translations, 31 are in Italian, four in English, three in Spanish, one with parallel texts in Spanish and Latin, and only one each in French and German; the German-speaking lands did not provide the climate where this text flourished in print. The Latin text was reprinted in this area only twice, in Strasbourg in 1496 and in Augsburg c. 1498.[33] The single surviving edition in a German translation is illustrated with four woodcuts and appeared in Ulm in 1488, printed by Conrad Dinckmut.[34]

Fourteen of the surviving incunable editions of the Latin version were printed in Paris, the earliest by Antoine Caillaut in 1485, followed by Philippe Pigouchet; Pierre le Dru and Pierre Levet printed it for diverse Parisian publishers.[35] The little Parisian books look remarkably alike and were probably printed at regular intervals. Until 1495 they were in quarto format, in the final years of the century (and continuing into the sixteenth century) in-octavo. The other Latin editions now known are printed from 1487 and in the 1490s in Rouen, Lyon, Pavia, Venice, Barcelona, and Montserrat;[36] of this last edition, printed

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32   GW 4739–4797, to which four items are added in the online version: GW 0475420N, 0476105N, 0476650N, 0479720N (ISTC ib00896470, ib00923200, ib00903350, ib00923000).

33   GW 4754, 4745. The latter was printed by Johann Schönsperger, c. 1497–1498, ascribed in GW to Johann Zainer in Ulm, c. 1487; this was corrected by P. Amelung in his *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten, 1473–1500* (Stuttgart, 1979), p. 42 sqq. In the German lands the Life of Christ written by Ludolphus de Saxonia became more popular in print.

34   GW 4762.

35   GW 4740–4743, 4746–4747, 4749, 4752–4753, 4755–4757, 4759, and GW 0475420N (Polain 4225, ISTC ib00896470).

36   GW 4744 (Rouen, c. 1487), GW 4750 (Lyon, c. 1493–1495), GW 4748 (Pavia, 1490), GW 4758 (Venice, 1497), GW 4760 (Montserrat, 1499). The editions printed by Petrus Michael (Pere Miquel)—GW 4751, 0479720N, and 0476105N—are three related versions, one in Latin, one in Castilian (Goff B-923, copy in the Library of Congress), and the copy in Cambridge UL, Oates 4048, which has the Latin and Castilian versions printed in parallel. All have the same colophon date of 16 July 1493. GW 4759, designated as printed for Jean Petit, c. 1498,

at the Benedictine monastery by Johann Luschner, the print run of 600 copies is recorded, as is the price per copy of 1 real and 2 maravedies.[37] A textually isolated edition in Latin was printed by the anonymous 'Printer of the Freeska Landriucht', who was active in the southern Netherlands, probably in Louvain, in the mid-1480s.[38] It is not known why the text became so popular in the mid-1480s. Clearly, there was a demand for small devotional texts for private reading.

The same surge in popularity is evident in the printing history of the Italian translations, 31 editions in all. Venice and Milan were the undisputed centres for the printing of diverse versions of the text, probably in competition with each other. A full version of the text was printed only twice, first in Milan in 1480, and about 20 years later in Venice.[39] An abbreviated version was first printed in Venice, possibly by Nicolas Jenson, in 1478, and reprinted at least 13 times: eight times in Milan, three times in Venice, and twice in Bologna.[40] The Venetian printer Bernardinus Benalius made c. 1490 a new bid for the competition by issuing an edition with 11 woodcuts of scenes of the life and Passion of Christ, which was followed by 14 more editions printed before 1500, mainly in Venice with a little competition from Florence and Brescia.[41] The illustrations of this Italian version (unlike the Latin editions, which have at most a title page with woodcut) are an indication of the attraction these books had for lay readership, and should obviously be compared to the more generous illustrations in the editions of the *Mirror*. The nature of their readership may not have been all that different.

A late Venetian edition, that of Lazarus de Soardis of 1497,[42] was printed with a privilege, which at least would have seen off the competition from Brescia. Despite some signs of competition, Venice and Milan clearly stand out as the centres for the publication of Italian versions of the *Meditationes*, just as Paris stands out for a Latin version. With the exception of Günther Zainer's edition

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was shown by B. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris 1972–1973), vol. III, p. 934, to belong to the period c. 1526.

37   See Francisco Méndez, *Tipografía española, ò Historia … del art de la imprenta en España*. (Madrid, 1861), p. 171. The book was listed as *Vita Christi*. The print run of similar small devotional books produced in the same period at the monastery was 800 copies. Cf. BMC X, p. 78.

38   GW 4761.

39   GW 4767 (Milan), 4768 (Venice).

40   GW 4784–4797.

41   GW 4769–4783.

42   GW 4782.

of 1468, the printing history of the *Meditationes* appears to belong to the 1480s and 1490s, years in which printers would have been confident of finding buyers and readers for a text that appealed to uncomplicated devotion, even without illustrations and in (fairly elementary) Latin. Although the records of places of printing suggest a wide geographical area, its demarcations are clear: the main centres where the *Meditationes* were printed were in Northern Italy and Paris.

Some of these unassuming books must have arrived in England through the book trade, but few were preserved. It should not be surprising that copies with evidence of early English ownership are extremely scarce. A copy now in the British Library was printed c. 1490 in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet.[43] It is bound in a volume with seven other items, printed in Westminster by Caxton, in London by De Machlinia, and in Antwerp, Louvain, and Lyon, and a contemporary English manuscript, 'Speculum valde horribile', written 'per Sothebe'. A treatise, 'Making of the Knights of the Bath', was written early in the sixteenth century on blank leaves throughout the volume. The volume has the signature of Humphrey Lloyd (c. 1527–1568), and the later signature of his brother-in-law John Lord Lumley.[44] Another copy of the Latin edition printed in Paris by G. Marnef, now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, was in England at an early date. According to GW IV, col. 454, this edition was printed after 1500. It is bound in a London panel-stamped binding and includes scribbled English names in an early hand.[45] Although the rate of actual survival can be deceptive, it is hard to escape the conclusion that in England the wide dissemination of the *Meditationes* took place in Nicholas Love's English version. In her discussion of the reading of devotional literature in England in the period before 1557, Mary Erler concluded that Love's *Mirror* 'eventually reached an audience perhaps almost as widespread as that for books of hours'.[46] In the hands of Wynkyn de Worde it also evolved into a presentation that departed from the aristocratic associations inherent to the Carthusian translation, and returned to the simplicity of its Latin original, the unassuming Franciscan text written for a Poor Clare.

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43   GW 4743, BMC VIII, p. 113, IA. 40283.

44   The volume is described in BMC XI, p. 156. On Humphrey Lloyd, see D.E. Rhodes, 'Some English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish Book-Collectors in Italy, 1467–1850', in: D.E. Rhodes (ed.), *Bookbindings & Other Bibliophily: Essays in Honour of Anthony Hobson* (Verona, 1994), pp. 247–276 (pp. 254–255).

45   ISTC ib00900300 dates 'c. 1505' on the basis of the state of the printer's device. Ownership recorded by Margaret L. Ford in her Early Book Owners in Britain database.

46   Erler, 'Devotional Literature', HBB III, pp. 494–525 (pp. 516–518).

Wynkyn de Worde and *The book of St Albans*

One of the very few instances of a book printed in the fifteenth century that was marked up to serve as exemplar for a new edition is a copy of *The book of hawking, hunting and blasing of arms*, or *The book of hawking* for short, printed c. 1486 at the Abbey of St Albans and therefore best known as *The book of St Albans*.[1] Part of a copy of this edition was acquired by the British Museum Library in 1962 from Alan G. Thomas, who had recognised that this large fragment was marked up for reprinting, and that the markings corresponded with the page structure of Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1496.[2] Mr Thomas's generosity in allowing the British Museum to buy this unique document on very favourable terms is gratefully acknowledged in the collection of essays in his honour, to which I contributed a preliminary description, later extended in BMC XI.[3]

When in 1496 De Worde's printing house used this printed book as exemplar, it was at a time when printed books had become commonplace, and especially the final section, 'The book of blasing of arms', was obviously considered an expendable object, not treated with much thought of further use once its contents had, as it were, been recycled in a reprint. By this time the treatment of such a copy is distinct from the discreet marks made in most of the early manuscripts which passed through a printing house, for the successive hands that made the marks when handling the book in De Worde's printing house did

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1 Duff 56, GW 4932, ISTC ib0103000, BMC XI, pp. 204–206, 306. The printer's copy has the pressmark IB. 55712.

2 Alan G. Thomas acquired the book at the Cherry-Garrard auction Sotheby's, 5 June 1961, lot 37, earlier provenance: William Bromley-Davenport (d. 1884) of Capesthorne Hall, Sidding-ton, near Macclesfield, Cheshire, for whom the book was bound by Zaehnsdorf (London, 1842–1862); Charles William Dyson Perrins, auction Sotheby's, 19 June 1947, lot 759; Walter Hutchinson, auction Sotheby's, 1 November 1950, lot 444 to Apsley G.B. Cherry-Garrard (d. 1959). Thomas offered it in his catalogue 9 (1961) at £12,500.

3 George D. Painter reported the acquisition in the section 'Notable accessions' in *The British Museum Quarterly*, 27 (1963–1964), pp. 100–101. The tribute to Mr Thomas was included in Lotte Hellinga, 'The book of St Albans, 1486', in Christopher de Hamel and Richard A. Linenthal (eds.), *Fine Books and Book Collecting: Books and Manuscripts Acquired from Alan G. Thomas and Described by His Customers on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Leamington Spa, 1981), pp. 31–34.

so without restraint.[4] The team of corrector, Master Printer, and compositors made their notes on the leaves printed 10 years before, with the sole purpose of making themselves clear. It was not until centuries later that the first *Book of St Albans* became one of the most prized of English incunabula.

The St Albans edition is a compilation of texts which were of interest to landed gentry: treatises on hawking and on hunting, on coats of arms and their correct colouring, and between them are shorter texts, a few poems, and lists with useful information. It brings together what might be found as loose tracts on the shelves of a country squire, or perhaps in a tract volume in which small manuscripts were combined as a codex.[5] The structure of the St Albans edition, with two sequences of signatures, betrays the variety of sources: a complete copy collates a–c⁸ d⁴; e–f⁸; (2)a b⁶; c–e⁸ f¹⁰. The fragment which had served as printer's copy consists of quires e–f and (2)a–e, comprising 'The book of hunting' followed by short texts, 'The book of coat armour', and all but the last quire of 'Blasing of arms'. It corresponds to Wynkyn de Worde's c6ᵃ–e5ᵃ, e6ᵃ–g3ᵃ, (2)a1ᵃ-(2)d1ᵃ, l. 32. (See below for the full contents list of De Worde's book.)

The press at the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans holds many mysteries. After producing a short sequence of books in Latin in 1479/1480–1481, there appears to have been a pause of several years.[6] Activity was briefly resumed after some five years, when two undated books in English were produced in an entirely different style from the educational and scholarly works issued previously by the press at the abbey. The two books, the *Chronicles of England* and the *Book of hawking*, are famous as early experiments in colour printing, using red with black for the *Chronicles*, and expanded in the other book with blue and yellow, and even on one page with gold for two shields of 'The blasing of arms'.[7] They are also distinguished from the Latin books by very

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4   Only three other copies of printed books of the fifteenth century are identified as printer's copy, printed at a much earlier date, the earliest being Gutenberg's 42-line Bible, quires of which were used as exemplar in 1462 by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer for their Latin Bible, and subsequently another copy in Strasbourg by Heinrich Eggestein in 1469–1470 for his *Biblia latina*. See nos. 1 and 6 in the List of printer's copy on pp. 67, 70–71. No. 8 in the list is a copy of Leo I, *Sermones et Epistulae*, printed in Rome by Johannes Philippus de Lignamine in 1470 (the copy is recorded at IGI 5723), used in the same year by Sweynheym and Pannartz.

5   For the ownership and use of these and similarly practical tracts by the English landholding classes, see George R. Keiser, 'Practical Books for Gentlemen', in HBB III, pp. 470–494.

6   For a brief survey, see the section 'Introducing the printers' in BMC XI, pp. 18–19.

7   On (2)e7ᵃ.

poor presswork—which in the first phase of activity of the St Albans press had been remarkably good—and deterioration of the typographical material. One of the founts of type and the Lombard initials used in these books are modelled on material used by William Caxton in the years 1481–1484, and a large type used for captions is even a casting of the same type he used,[8] which suggests that Caxton, or perhaps the abbey at Westminster, had given practical support to the enterprise at St Albans—the premier abbey of the Benedictine order in England.[9] That Caxton had some relation to the press at St Albans is also suggested by their reprints of some of the texts he published. In 1480 the St Albans press reprinted Laurentius Traversanus's *Rhetorica nova* from Caxton's edition, which he had published c. 1478/1479, in the fount of type that looks almost deceptively like one of Caxton's, until one looks closer.[10] The St Albans *Chronicles* is partly based on Caxton's *Chronicles of England*, a text which he had completed himself and published twice, in 1480 and 1482.[11] The St Albans version is augmented with a preliminary text, a section on world history with the title 'Fructus temporum', which is derived from Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus temporum*; the work also has an innovative and ingenious reference system, and unlike Caxton's editions includes diagrams throughout. For the text of the second part of the book a copy of one of Caxton's editions was undoubtedly used as exemplar with some amendments, consisting of changes in chapter division and the addition of some new links between chapters. The prologue by the compiler or editor of the new version states that it was completed at St Albans in 1483. There is a tradition that Caxton completed this version after the death of the schoolmaster who was the original compiler. If there is truth in this, it would have been a further revision of a work he had published himself—and this would have been entirely in character: his editing of historical works is interlinked, forming a continuous chain. The compiler's date, however, gives rise to a problem in dating the printing of the book. The

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8   Caxton used a combination of Types 2: 135B and 3: 135G in 1481–1483, and introduced a set of Lombard initials in 1484. See BMC XI, pp. 86–87. St Albans Type 2: 122B resembles Caxton Type 2, and St Albans Type 4: 135 derives from the same punches, and possibly the same matrices, as Caxton's Type 3. See BMC XI, pp. 413–415, Plates 48, 50–51, cf. Caxton Type 2: 135B, Type 3: 135G, BMC XI, pp. 350–354, Plates 1–3; see also Duff (2009) Plates II, IV, XLIV.

9   On the relation between Caxton and the press at St Albans, see BMC XI, pp. 10–11.

10   Duff 369, GW 12071, ISTC it00427760, reprinted from Caxton's edition, Duff 368, GW 12070, ISTC it00427750. Printed in the first state of Type 2:122B.

11   Duff 97, 98; GW 6670(I), 6671, ISTC ic00477000, ic00478000, BMC XI, pp. 116–117, 130–131.

state of the type and the use of initials, as well as the poor presswork, are very similar to those found in the *Book of hawking*, which has in its colophon the compiler's date of 1486. Therefore, in my opinion it is justified to date both books as 'c. 1486' or 'not before 1486'.[12]

The scattered evidence of a friendly connection between both distinct printing enterprises at St Albans and Caxton provides a background to Wynkyn de Worde's reprinting of the two English books a few years after he had taken over Caxton's business. It helps to explain how De Worde came to reprint *The book of hawking*, a work which cannot have been destined for his usual metropolitan clientele. It is also telling that when he reprinted the *Chronicles* in 1497[13] he preferred the St Albans version above the earlier version published by Caxton himself, and in this case, too, he must have used a copy of the printed book as exemplar. In the colophon he added the information that the text he published had been 'compiled in a booke and also enprynted by one somtyme scole mayster of saynt Albons on whoos soule god haue mercy'—a statement that has led to designating the press at St Albans as 'The schoolmaster-printer', although De Worde's sentence may also be read as the late schoolmaster having compiled the text (of the *Fructus temporum*?) at St Albans, [included in a book] which was also printed there.

The book of hawking was the first to be reprinted. De Worde seems to have taken on the rustic aspects of this enterprise wholeheartedly, for he added a tract on the related theme of fishing with an angle.[14] This 'plaunflet' as he calls it, begins with a famous woodcut of a cheerful angler standing on the banks of a river which has been identified as the river Ver in Hertfordshire, against a background featuring Sopwell Nunnery, where Juliana Berner, the reputed author of the *Book of hunting*, was prioress.[15] The illustrator obviously knew

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12   Paul Needham maintained that the *Chronicles* must be dated in 1483, on the basis of some overlap of paper supplies with the earlier St Albans production, supported by dated use of the same paper in Oxford and the Low Countries. See BMC XI. 321. There is, however, also considerable overlap in the paper supplies of the *Chronicles* and the *Book of hawking* (they have stocks 7, 17–18, 20, and 24 in common). For both books remaining stocks could have been used, and the *Book of hawking* was completed with a new supply acquired c. 1486. This, as well as the close similarity of the state of type, general layout, and technique of printing and colour printing, convinces me that the two books were printed without a great interval of time.

13   Duff 102, GW 6675 (I), ISTC ic00482000, BMC XI, pp. 212–213.

14   Was his enthusiasm perhaps due to his background in a particularly watery part of Holland?

15   Hodnett 897. The location was tentatively (but in my view convincingly) identified by

the locality. The treatise is illustrated in an unusual manner, with six in-text woodcuts of a fishing rod, hooks, and floats, and the tools to make them. Even more curious are a short prologue and epilogue to the tract, presumably De Worde's own words on a subject about which he evidently had strong feelings. It is a rare chance to hear De Worde's own voice. He adroitly turned the first line of St Albans's explicit to 'The Book of coat armour'—coats of arms are 'how gentylmen shall be knowen from ungentylmen'—into an introduction to the treatise on fishing: fishing is a gentlemanly sport, provided it is done with an angle and not with nets 'or other engynes' as practised by those who do it for their daily income ('theyr dayly encrease'). The epilogue takes up the theme: if printed as a small pamphlet, it might fall into the wrong hands, but this risk is avoided when it is included in a book destined to be consulted by gentle and noble men: 'And for by cause that thys present treatyse sholde not come to the hondys of eche ydle persone whyche wolde desire it yf it were emprynted allone by itself and put in a lytyll plaunflet therfore I haue compylyd it in a greter volume of dyuerse bokys concernynge to gentyll and noble men. To the entent that the forsayd ydle persones whyche sholde haue but lytyll mesure in the sayd dysporte of fysshyng sholde not by this meane utterly dystroye it.'

The fishing pamphlet, amounting to 23 pages, was inserted rather strangely between the two treatises on heraldry, 'The book of coat armour' and 'The book of the blasing of arms'. This last text was probably prepared separately for the press, and with its many illustrations also annotated separately; this may be the reason why the 'Treatise of fishing' got wedged in between in the volume as completed.

De Worde's edition collates: folio, a–e^6 f–g^4 h^6 i^4; (2)a–c^6 d^8, 74 leaves. Its contents are:

a1^a	woodcut
a1^b	woodcut, printer's introduction
a2^a–c5^b, l. 38	The book of hawking
c6^a–e2^b, l. 5	The book of hunting
e2^b, l. 6–e3^b, l. 12	Beasts of the chace
e3^b, l. 13–e4^b, col. b, l. 7	The companyes of bestys and foules

F. Buller, H. Falkus, and others, in: *Dame Juliana "The angling treatyse" and Its Mysteries*, (Moretonhampstead, 2001). (Privately printed.)

e4ᵇ, col. b, l. 8–e5ᵃ, col. b, l. 13	Terms of dressing
e5ᵃ, col. b, ll. 14–34	The shires and bishoprics of England
e5ᵇ	poem: A faythfull frende
e6ᵃ–g3ᵃ, l. 25	The book of coat armour
g3ᵃ, ll. 26–36	Printer's note on contents of the Treatise of fishing
g3ᵇ–i4ᵇ, l. 7	woodcut, Treatise of fishing
i4ᵇ, ll. 8–15	Printer's epilogue to the Treatise of fishing
(2)a1ᵃ–(2)d7ᵇ	The book of blasing of arms
(2)d7ᵇ, ll. 30–36	colophon
(2)d8ᵃ	armorial woodcut
(2)d8ᵇ	Wynkyn de Worde's device A.

The surviving printer's copy for De Worde's book consists of seven quires beginning with 'The book of hunting', comprising a total of 52 leaves out of 90 in a complete copy; they are quires e–f⁸, (2)a–b⁶ c–e⁸ of the St Albans book, corresponding to leaves c6ᵃ–e5ᵃ, e6ᵃ–g3ᵃ, (2)a1ᵃ–d1ᵃ of De Worde's edition. A few of the sheets, notably e1/8, are so badly printed that they may not have been intended for inclusion in a copy for sale. De Worde must have used manuscript copy for the two inserted texts, the poem 'A faythfull frende' and the 'Treatise of fishing'. The treatise begins in the middle of quire g, and it is probably significant that at this point there are still traces visible in the exemplar of an error in casting off, and how it was corrected. There was no such problem at the end of the 'Treatise of fishing', after which 'The blasing of arms' begins, for this final section has a new sequence of signatures, and it may have been produced concurrently with previous parts at any time during the production of the book. With its 116 woodcuts of armorial shields, the nature of this part of the book is different from all the previous sections. Its editorial annotations also suggest that it was treated as an entirely independent entity.

In the section before the 'Blasing of arms', that is leaves e–f⁸ in the printer's copy, there are one or two notes in the copy which may have been made by a reader, perhaps at a later date. They include 'no' for nota, and one addition to 'The companyes of bestys and foules' after the line 'A Pauuerty of pypers', which does not appear in De Worde's printed version. They are clearly distinct from the notes made as copy preparation or by the compositors. In the printing-house markings three phases can be clearly distinguished: editorial intervention (vocabulary, spelling), casting off previous to typesetting, and marks made by compositors after setting pages. A separate set of notes gives instructions about the design and colouring of the shields in 'The blasing of arms'. Apart from what was marked as copy preparation, there must have been a general

instruction to the compositor or compositors to adapt the language by replacing archaic and regional forms. Such changes were frequently made, without previous marking in the exemplar.

There are also systematic changes in layout. Unlike the St Albans edition, Wynkyn de Worde did not make use of a heading type (although he owned the same fount of type as used for this purpose in St Albans—his Type 6: 135G—and used it in many other books). In the St Albans edition many headings were set in the large type, preceded by a Lombard in red, and surrounded by ample space. Instead, De Worde distinguished many (but not all) of the headings in St Albans by printing them in red preceded by a paragraph mark, without interlinear space, and all in the same type as the text, his Type 7: 103G. This type, derived from a fount developed in Gouda, is a curiosity in English printing, used only in this book.[16]

In the following, more detailed examination the St Albans printer's copy will be indicated as 'SA', Wynkyn de Worde's book as 'W'.[17]

Editorial Annotation

Corrections by an editor or editors were made in ink. They are sporadic in the 'Book of hunting' and in the short texts following this section; these corrections are followed by W apart from one alteration on f3ᵃ, l. 6, which was apparently erroneous: 'lyfte' corrected to 'ryghte'. The red-printed words displaced by faulty register on e1ᵃ ('hert, hare, bore, wolf, fox, Roo') are written in their proper position. One of the few notes in 'The book of hunting' is a textual amendment on e4ᵇ, l. 27: 'who so commyth to that place may se hit ^ with his ighe' gets the marginal note 'it well spye', which is the version in W d2ᵇ, l. 23. Higher up on the same page is a correction that I found difficult to read, and so apparently did W's composer: l. 11 'And so boldly ther as ye [-durne] > soioyzurne (?)'. In W the line reads: 'And soo boldly there as ye soionrne:' (to rhyme with 'tourne').

Punctuation and capitalisation were routinely changed, with W systematically beginning sentences with a capital, whereas SA relied on punctuation, often omitted by W.[18] In the 'Book of coat armour' W has many words spelled

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16   See BMC XI, Plate 18, pp. 343, 376–377, with reference to the possibility that Govert van Ghemen assisted De Worde in producing this version of the fount.

17   What follows is a revision of the entry I prepared for BMC XI, pp. 203–205. I compared the printer's copy IB. 55712 with the copy of Wynkyn de Worde's edition printed on vellum, G. 10548.

18   The change in punctuation and capitalisation was noted by Satoko Tokunaga in her study

differently from SA without corrections in the copy, e.g. once on fol. a4ᵃ carbun-cull > carbuncle, or (frequently) theys > thyse. The marks made successively for casting off and by the compositors leave no room for doubt that this section was used as exemplar for W.

In contrast, the manuscript corrections in the 'Book of blasing of arms' are numerous. There are signs that this part of the copy may have been prepared separately. It is possible to distinguish two hands at work here, one the same as in the previous scarce notes but in this section very frequent, correcting spelling and sometimes vocabulary. Many of the corrections are made in-text, and sometimes a word is written out in the margin, e.g. 'liclenes' in SA gets the clear marginal note 'lyknesse' and 'sū' gets the marginal note 'some'. It is not clear why it was found necessary for this part of the edition to mark the modernisation of the archaic language or regional spellings found in SA, which must derive from the exemplar used in St Albans. Obviously they were to render the text more acceptable to a contemporary, possibly metropolitan reader, but elsewhere in the book the modernisation was left in the hands of the compositor. Once again, this suggests that this part of the copy was treated separately. To take an example, on (2)c1ᵃ the following alterations were made, and followed by the compositor:

SA	W
ordant	ordeyned
mony colowris ther be	many colours there ben
needis	nede
bot	but
flowris	floures
war	were
cros	crosse
Dragonys	dragons
sheelde	shelde
waar	were
awngell	angell

'From Print to Print: Wynkyn de Worde's Reprint of The Book of St Albans', *Colloquia* (*Keio University*), 19 (1998), pp. 141–149, in which she discussed editorial annotation and variants in spelling and vocabulary. She added more examples of amended spelling than I quote here, noted inconsistencies, and suggested that more than one compositor may have worked on De Worde's book.

The only extensive verbal correction is not followed by the compositor:

> SA (2)c1ᵇ, l. 6: I aske here moo questionis of the crossis signe
> Correction: In askyng moo questyons of the synge of the crosse
> W (2)a1ᵇ, l. 1: I aske here mo questyons of the crosse syg
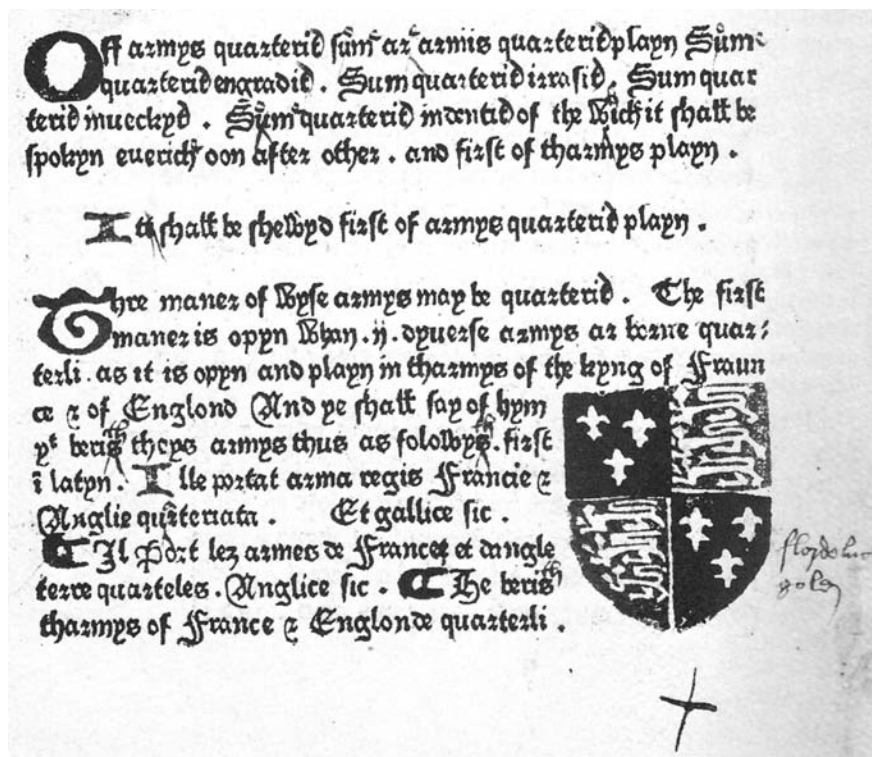
FIG. 14.1   *The* Book of St Albans *used as printer's copy for Wynkyn de Worde. Copy preparation: interlinear corrections of spelling; a marginal note indicating that the royal coat of arms requires gold. Text with illustration in the section 'Blasing of arms'. London* BL, IB. *55712, fol.* (2)d1ᵇ *(detail).* © *The British Library Board. All rights Reserved 31.01.2014.*

The other set of corrections in a hand found only in 'Blasing of arms' frequently corrects the design of the coats of armour. These notes seem to be the work of a person who was an expert in heraldry. Unlike all the other traces of copy preparation, they are not addressed to compositors, but must have been destined to support the correct illustration of the final section of the book. Numerous instructions were written by this annotator for amending the design of the armorial cuts, or the colouring as printed in SA. For example, against the

four shields of pages (2)c3^b/c4^a the following notes were made: (1) 'the rondes most be yolo'; (2) 'this end most be as the other is' [i.e. fleury] the cros gold; (3) 'the cros gold'; (4) 'put in lityll blake or no*ne*'. The instructions for forms were mostly followed by the woodcutter who produced the shields for W, but occasionally they were ignored, sometimes rightly. On W (2)a3^a, corresponding to SA (2)c3^b, the instruction to change the foot of the cross is not followed and it remains pointed, as it should be, for the text describes 'a crosse flurry fixabyll' (i.e. fitchy). On W (2)a3^b, corresponding to SA (2)c4^a, the instruction about putting in a little black is not followed and an error is made by exchanging this cut of a plain watery cross with the plain cross corded on (2)a2^b. One further shield, with the arms of Ann, queen of Richard II, was added on (2)b2^a, and two shields were omitted which had been printed with gold in SA, and space was left open for them on (2)c6^a. Shields with bends or other asymmetrical features are mostly reversed against the earlier edition.

The instructions for colouring are intriguing: what was their purpose? The spectacular experiment in four- to five-colour printing at St Albans (black, red, blue, yellow, and some gold) was not repeated by De Worde, who printed in only two colours, black and red. Had he first contemplated multicolour printing? Or there may have been a plan to colour a number of copies by hand under the aegis of the printing house, as had been done a few years earlier by Richard Pynson for *The Statutes of war*, albeit only for the coat of arms of King Henry VII (which was copied in W).[19] De Worde made a careful distinction between copies: some were coloured by hand with azure (to use the heraldic term for blue) and yellow representing gold; in most copies the azure in the coats of arms is represented by black, and gold is tinged in with yellow. Of a higher order is the vellum copy BL, G. 10548, which is lavishly painted with all the required pigments, including gold. It seems likely that if there had perhaps been any notion of printing with many colours, it was abandoned, and that the instructions for colours written in SA were to form the basis for the correct colouring by hand of a limited number of copies of the edition.

Casting Off

For each of the two sequences of signatures, casting off was probably done quire by quire (as seen elsewhere), with each quire completed before proceeding

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19   Richard Beadle and Lotte Hellinga, 'William Paston II and Pynson's Statutes of War (1492)', *The Library*, 6th ser. 7 (2001), pp. 107–119.

to the following quire. Lines were counted, and the numbers of future pages within the quire were noted in the margins with very small figures in pale ink (see Fig. 14.2A–B). The marginal figures, all in Arabic numerals, run from 1 to 12. For the section in verse ('The book of hunting' and the short texts that followed it), 38 lines were counted off for each page, except for page (2)d6ᵇ, for which 39 lines were counted off and printed. The lists of shires, bishoprics, and provinces in England take in SA the whole of page f8ᵃ. In W they are condensed to 20 lines, occupying half of the page, by setting them consecutively instead of giving each a new line. This left the full page e5ᵇ for the 37-line poem 'A faythfull frend', ending with 'A M E N' on the 38th line. For the prose text of 'The book of coat armour', beginning on e6ᵃ, 38 to 39 lines were counted off for each page; for prose interspersed with illustrations in 'The blasing of arms' the number of lines per page was roughly estimated as 26 lines for a page with two large shields to 33–38 lines for a page with three small shields. Any difficulties could be solved by the arrangement of white on the page.

Compositor's Marks

When a compositor had completed the setting of a page, he would mark the changeover with an acute-angled sign scratched with drypoint, linking the last line of the completed page with the first line of the following page.[20] In verse, the casting off was followed without deviations. When in the prose section the page break occurred within a line, the precise spot in the line would be marked either by drawing in drypoint a 'box' consisting of three lines around the final words on the page as set, resembling the 'take over' mark in modern proofreading,[21] or by marking the spot in the line with a short, slanting stroke. The beginning of each quire is marked by a scratched squiggle.

There are traces of one revision. In the printer's copy the numerals 1–14 were noted for casting off W's quire f. Quire f was apparently planned to contain

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20 Unfortunately, they are invisible in a digital image, and therefore not illustrated here.

21 The 'boxes' or circles in drypoint around what was to become the final word of a printed page are not only found elsewhere in De Worde's printer's copy (the Plimpton manuscript of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, no. 33, pp. 191–192, in the List of printer's copy, above) and illustrated by Margery Morgan, 'Pynson's Manuscript of *Dives and Pauper*', *The Library*, 5th ser. 8 (1953), Plate I (third line from below, col. b); also noted and illustrated by Sylvia Fiaschi in the printer's copy for L.B. Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii Alemanus, 1485, List, no. 24.
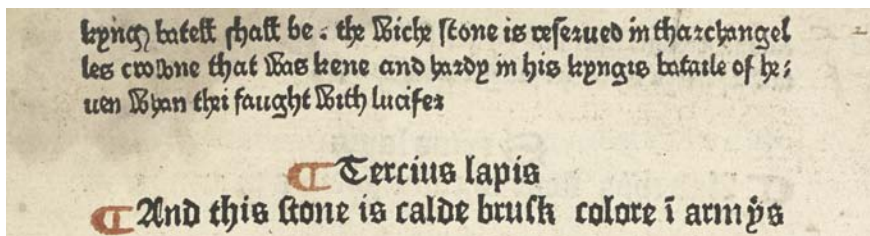
eight leaves (16 pages), the final pages containing the beginning of the 'Treatise
of fishing'. The previous quires had all contained six leaves, but we cannot know
whether this was the cause of the mistake that followed, or whether it was the
prospect of inserting at the end of the quire a text from different copy. In any
case, an error was made in counting, and the third page of the future quire
was skipped. If all had gone well, the 'Treatise of fishing' would have started
on f7ᵇ (page 14). The error may not have been discovered until a part of the text
was set, since a compositor scratched blind in the margin the Arabic numerals
4–7, which perpetuate the error. At some stage, when the error was discovered,
it was decided to combine the pages differently and print two quires of four
leaves, f⁴ and g⁴, instead of f⁸. What was set as consecutive pages 8 and 9 in
the middle of the quire became pages 7 and 8 at its end. The correct page
numbers were now written in ink, while the wrong ones were deleted. This
was probably a case of damage limitation, as also seen elsewhere.[22] But here
the repair was not made at the expense of textual accuracy, and we may guess
that some wrongly combined sheets were sacrificed, either in proof or already
printed. The last three pages of what was now g⁴ were indeed occupied by the
beginning of the 'Treatise of fishing'. There is no indication in the printer's copy
that the treatise was to follow.

The compositors followed the casting off precisely for all the pages with verse
and with lists, and some of the pages of the text in prose. In the prose section
there are a few signs of copy-fitting. Twice (on f3ᵃ and (2)d4ᵃ) compositors
resorted to overrunning, that is, adding a word below the normal type area;

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22   A similar error in counting the pages while casting off occurred in the preparation for
printing Poggio's *Historia fiorentina*, see pp. 208, 212. Damage limitation is discussed
in Appendix III of the study of the first Rome edition of Poggio's *Facetiae*, pp. 197–
200.
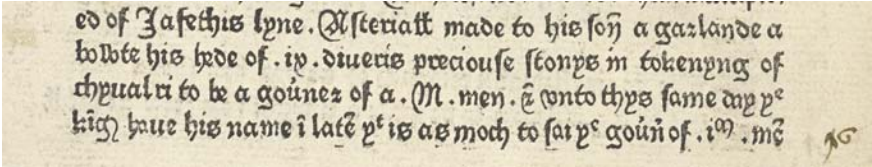
FIG. 14.2B *Casting off in St Albans 'The book of coat armour'. The original marking '7' was deleted and replaced with '6' for the sixth page, or f3ᵇ. London, BL, IB. 55712, fol. (2)a5ᵇ, ll. 23–26. © The British Library Board. All rights Reserved 31.01.2014.*

sometimes they even added a whole extra line (d5ᵇ, f4ᵃ with 39 lines each). Their deviations from the casting off could vary between a few letters and three lines, much as has been observed in other studies of printer's copy. The order of typesetting can be deduced from noting the places where a compositor was free to end a page, implying that the following page had not been set. One example, the marking and setting of quire (2)b⁶, may in the present case suffice.

Legenda: =: Compositor follows casting off; ≠: compositor is free to end the page.

Page	Leaf			Leaf	Page
1	b1ᵃ	≠	≠	b6ᵇ	12
2	b1ᵇ	= (before illustration of large shield)	=	b6ᵃ	11
3	b2ᵃ	≠	=	b5ᵇ	10
4	b2ᵇ	≠	≠	b5ᵃ	9
5	b3ᵃ	≠	=	b4ᵇ	8
6	b3ᵇ	≠	≠	b4ᵃ	7

We may conclude that the order of completion of this quire was probably very regular, set by formes and sheet by sheet, working from the outer forme inwards:

pages   1—12—2—11
       3—4—9—10
       5—6—7—8

We can recognise the same system here as the underlying pattern of the typesetting in Jacob Bellaert's printing house in Haarlem in the mid-1480s.[23] The exception would have been quire f, where if the insertion of 'The treatise of fishing' had taken place at the end of the quire, as initially planned, it would have been advantageous to leave the outer sheets to last. With the books printed in Haarlem, the order of typesetting was often influenced by the structure of text divided into chapters headed by illustrations. In *The book of St Albans* the cause of adopting an order which deviated from the routine would also have been structural, the insertion of a text to be printed from a different exemplar.

Proofreading?

The numerous instances of changes made to the text which had not been previously marked are best understood as interventions made by compositors as they went along, although it always remains possible to assume that these are the work of a proof corrector. In the absence of surviving proofs, there is no absolute certainty. But the body of evidence of independent correction by compositors in vernacular languages is considerable, and growing. Examples of such changes (out of many) are:

SA: e3^b, l. 16:   And of this ilke hare speke we no mare
W: d2^a, l. 1:   And of this sayd beest to trete: here it shall be lete

SA: b5^a, l. 14:   There be diuerse beryngys of feeldys
W: g3^a, l. 1:   There ben three dyuers beerynges of feldys

SA: b5^b, l. 15:   Here endeth the mooste speciall …
W: g3^a, l. 26:   Here we shall make an endeof the moost specyall …

Also, the evidently attentive correction which took place when 'The blasing of arms' was prepared for the press, which still left room for further correction by a compositor, diminishes the likelihood that a phase of proofreading would have taken place with a view of improving the text. Examples of changes in spelling in this section of the book (all on (2)c1^a) are modest but consistent:

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23   See the study of the printer's copy of *De historie van Jason*, pp. 337–344.

SA	W
shewyd	shewed
a foore	afore
signys in armys	sygnes in armes
emonge	amonge

Conclusion

Between the phase of textual correction before the work went to press and its printing, the process of adaptation continued. We may observe the work of a small team who perhaps had individual tastes and habits in spelling, but who well understood the publisher's general intention to modernise the presentation of the texts and bring what had originated as a collection of miscellaneous treatises for a rural audience to a new, metropolitan readership. They produced what was approaching—but not yet quite—the format of a handbook. De Worde and the people with whom he worked achieved this by adopting a consistent new layout, revising the language and assuring the accuracy of the illustrations, and inserting a new text extending the scope of the book.

William Caxton and the Malory Manuscript

Two almost contemporary sources are known for the compilation of Arthurian stories completed by Thomas Malory around 1470, which became best known as *Le Morte Darthur*, the title given by William Caxton to his edition of the text which bears the date 31 July 1485.[1] Caxton's edition was the earliest known source for the text until 1934, when Walter Oakeshott discovered and identified in the Fellows' Library of Winchester College an almost complete manuscript of Malory's text which was roughly contemporary but probably slightly earlier than Caxton's printed version. Ever since, it has been a subject of scholarly debate how the two sources relate to each other. Eugene Vinaver chose the manuscript as the primary basis for the text edition which became the widely accepted authority for Malory's text, first published in 1947 and revised by P.J.C. Field in 1990 and again in 2013.[2] But the question remained: Was Caxton's edition a witness for a collateral version which had descended independently from Malory's original text—as assumed by Vinaver and Field—or was it derived from the manuscript?

In 1977 I published my findings of an examination of the manuscript which was still at Winchester College when I first saw it in 1975.[3] In a collection of Arthurian studies (1981) a revised version was published which took account of some of the comments which the previous publication had elicited, and also of the progress I had made with the investigation after the manuscript had been purchased by the British Library.[4] Traditionally it is referred to as 'W' for 'Winchester', but since it is now known as BL Add MS 59678 I have called it in the present study 'the Malory manuscript'. Once it was in the British Library I could spend a great deal of time with it in the manuscript conservation studio, supported by its kind staff and by the tools for forensic examination which were available there. As a result I concluded that physical evidence indicates that the manuscript was with Caxton for several years, including the years 1480–1483, before his edition was completed. This led to the hypothesis that

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1 Duff 283, ISTC im00103000, GW M20157.

2 A new edition is forthcoming at the time of writing (Autumn 2013).

3 Lotte Hellinga and Hilton Kelliher, 'The Malory Manuscript', *The British Library Journal*, 3 (1977), pp. 91–101.

4 Lotte Hellinga, 'The Malory Manuscript and Caxton', in Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer (eds.), *Aspects of Malory* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 127–141.

the manuscript had been an immediate source for Caxton's edition of 1485 via an intermediate copy prepared by Caxton himself as he was creating an edited version of the text. In the more than 30 years that have elapsed since then, it has become very clear that my argument for the hypothesis was not readily accepted by textual historians, schooled in the authority and tradition of Vinaver's edition of the text. It is not surprising that his conviction about the nature of the two sources became firmly rooted in subsequent scholarship.

Malory's text remains of deep interest to historians of late medieval English literature, and much has been published about it since 1981. But our insight into the transmission of texts in early printing has also grown considerably, as I hope to have shown in the studies in this collection. Also, over the years I have been in much closer contact with Caxton as editor and translator than in the years when I had just set out on the enterprise of editing BMC-England. To conclude the studies which precede it here, I therefore partly reprint in slightly revised form the record of the investigation as originally published. In the intervening years the technical aids which were available at the time have become obsolete but have not lost their capacity to validate my observations. In my further considerations I omit the remarks on instances of printer's copy, which can be found in more elaborate form in the present collection, but take account of more recent literature about Malory's text in so far as it is relevant to the argument. I then reconsider the forensic evidence in the light of the experience of the last 30 years, as well as some of the contributions by scholars who took part in the debate, and conclude by formulating more elaborately than before my hypothesis about Caxton's editing of the version found in the Malory manuscript.

Investigating the Malory Manuscript 1975–1977

A first examination, carried out in the summer of 1975 when the manuscript was still at Winchester College, showed that it did not bear any traces of calculations made by a compositor to set his text by formes, or any other marks that compositors are known to make. These may merely consist of tiny dashes or dots, and therefore could have easily been overlooked. By the time Caxton completed his edition of *Le Morte Darthur* in 1485, his printing house had for several years set its books by formes (two pages in folio, or four pages in quarto at a time).[5] Caxton's edition of Malory betrays in several ways the difficulties

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5   For the date of Caxton's transition to printing by formes, see the essay 'Press and Text', pp. 19, 36.

of setting with this method. Some pages are a line short (e.g. x1^b, z1^a, cc3^a); others have gaps at the end of a page (e.g. b1^a, b3^b, c1^b, c4^a, etc.), while on some pages extra-wide spacing can be observed (end of r2^b, all of t3^b). There is also a great deal of variation in the space for Caxton's chapter headings. The fact that Caxton 'chapytred' Malory's text—the term he used in his prologue[6]—made the work considerably easier for the compositors, as the variable amounts of white around the chapter headings could be used to adjust the quantity of text to be included in a page. We can therefore safely assume that Caxton's edition of *Le Morte Darthur* can only have been set from cast-off copy. The Malory manuscript, which shows no marks at all, was therefore certainly not used by compositors as printer's copy.

Yet some observations did connect the manuscript with a printer's office. On many pages dark smudges and blots were visible. These appeared to me to be traces of a kind of ink evidently different from the inks used by the scribes of the manuscript. Such traces are familiar to incunabulists. Many incunabula bear testimony to the difficulties of manufacturing quick-drying oil-based ink, by showing smudges or offsets of type resulting from contact with insufficiently dried pages. In the Malory manuscript there were traces of shapes in some margins which resembled printing types, but there were many more traces of deep-black ink used by printers (as opposed to the various shades of brown used by scribes), which appeared on top of the writing.

Subsequently I examined the manuscript with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp in the hope of increasing the contrast in colour between the marginal ink stains and the paper, thus revealing a better image of the shapes. The shapes in the margin of fol. 186^v appeared under ultraviolet light and with the help of a mirror to be offsets of three lower-case letters, which closely resembled Caxton's Type 4. Although convincing to me, this was a far from satisfactory identification from the point of view of presenting evidence to convince others.

The next step was therefore to try to photograph the offsets under ultraviolet light. Unfortunately, the outcome was only partly successful and seemed to show less than what had been visible to the naked eye under the ultraviolet lamp. The defective offsets of type could be distinguished in the marginal shapes, but this was not clear enough to identify the type with certainty. They showed the somewhat irregular outline of a fifteenth-century type, but this could not be considered unambiguous evidence.

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6   [6] 'And for to vnderstonde bryefly the contente of thys volume / I haue deuyded it in to xxj bookes / and euery book chapytred as here after shal by goddes grace folowe.' (fol. iij^b, ll. 16–19).

These observations took place in 1975 at Winchester College, where the Librarian of the Fellows' Library, Paul Yeats-Edwards, showed great patience and encouragement. The investigation then had to be left for quite a long time. After it had changed homes in 1976 and moved to the British Library, the Malory manuscript became practically inaccessible until the end of January 1977 as one of the exhibits in the Library's quincentenary Caxton exhibition. This gave me over a year to get better acquainted with Vinaver's text edition and to ponder the question of the difference between the inks used by scribes and printers, and how to identify the shapes in the offsets, especially those which were visible on top of the writing in normal light but had become an indistinguishable black mass under ultraviolet light. It was also in this period that two publications came out which were to facilitate research and bring the question of the relationship of the two sources for Malory's text to a wider spectrum of scholars: the facsimile editions of the Malory manuscript and of Caxton's edition.[7]

First I learned about inks. The inks used for writing and for printing in the fifteenth century (and later times) are totally different substances. Scribes' ink, which was used for writing with a quill, was in the fifteenth century either a mixture of gallnuts with water to which a black organic salt of iron, other salts, and a little gum arabic were added, or a similar mixture without the gallnuts.[8] A water-based ink could not be used on metal types, as the ink would not spread evenly over metal letters. Once on a printing press, pressure of the platen would cause a water-based ink to be absorbed too deeply in the paper for printing on both sides, as can be seen in many blockbooks. Printers therefore made use of oil-based ink, a substance that was closely similar to paints, which had already been in use for several decades before the invention of movable metal types. The adaptation of painters' materials for printing is an important part of Gutenberg's invention. There are no recipes known of fifteenth-century printing ink, but it probably consisted of boiled

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7 *The Winchester Malory: A Facsimile*. With an introduction by N.R. Ker [Early English Text Society s.s. 4] (Oxford, 1976). *Sir Thomas Malory, Le Morte D'Arthur, Printed by William Caxton, 1485: Reproduced in Facsimile from the Copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*. With an introduction by P. Needham (London, 1976).

8 D.V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York, 1956), pp. 80–83. The lengthy entry 'Encre', signed by Jacqueline Pieters in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du livre*, vol. II (Paris, 2005), pp. 58–67, begins with scribes' ink (p. 58). Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1896), quotes on p. 239 an English recipe 'to make texte ynke' with 'grene vitriole, rayne water and gome' as ingredients. The dark ink used in the later part of the Malory manuscript may have also contained some form of carbon pigment.

nut oil or linseed oil, distilled turpentine (rosin), and lampblack made from burning pitch resin.[9] The resulting mixture was a deep-black ink, that still, after more than 500 years, glistens on the page. The brownish shades of writing ink are formed to a large extent in the fibres of the paper or parchment by a process of oxidation on exposure to the air which takes place after writing. On close inspection the effect is entirely different from the effect of printing ink.

Much care was given to the preparation of ink by most printers of the incunabula period, as is witnessed by outstanding results. Nevertheless, the ink-makers were not always successful in overcoming all technical difficulties. In C.H. Bloy's book on the history of printing ink, from which I abstracted much of the foregoing, the obvious necessity of making a quick-drying ink for the printing of books is a recurrent theme.[10] It is as if the English incunable printers had more difficulty in finding the correct formula than printers in most other centres of early typography. English incunabula seem to have more than their share of smudges, offsets, and heavy thumbmarks.[11] William Blades made a similar observation on Caxton's ink when he remarked that it was of the weakest description, very sloppy, and that the 'spuing' of the ink marred the effect of type of good quality.[12] But the problem of ink in the wrong place

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9   The controversy about the date of printing of the Mainz *Catholicon* has triggered a very detailed analysis of the composition of early printer's ink based on synchrotron spectrum analysis. This has led to the conclusion that three phases can be distinguished in the development of printer's ink. Ink of the earliest phase, as used by Gutenberg and by other printers until 1462, contained measurable quantities of metal trace elements, notably lead and copper. In a transitional phase, lasting from 1463 to c. 1475, the quantity of metal trace elements gradually diminished, vanishing entirely in the third phase, from c. 1476. See Achim Rosenberg etc., 'Röntgenfluoreszensanalyse der Druckerschwärzen des Mainzer Catholicon und andere Frühdrucke mit Synchrotronstrahlung', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1998*, pp. 231–255. See also my summary in English and comments: Lotte Hellinga, 'The Interpretation of Measurements of Pinholes and Analysis of Ink in Incunabula', *The Library*, 7th ser. 2 (2001), pp. 60–64.

10   C.H. Bloy, *A History of Printing Ink, Balls and Rollers, 1440–1850* (London, 1967). An excellent supplement to Bloy's information is the lengthy entry 'Encre' in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du livre* (see n. 8 above, on early printing inks: p. 59).

11   The copy of the *Morte Darthur* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, for example, one of the only two extant, has large smudges of printer's ink on q1^b, inky thumbs on X8^b and Z2^a, and offsets on G3^b and S1^a. None of these are visible in the facsimile edition of this copy (see n. 6 above).

12   William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton* (London, 1861–1863), vol. II, p. xlvi.

was not restricted to English printers. Quite spectacular offsets can be seen in some Continental incunabula, no doubt caused by insufficiently dried pages. Manuscripts which are known to have been used as printer's copy occasionally show traces of printing ink and offsets.[13]

When the Caxton exhibition had ended, the opportunity at last arose for a more thorough investigation at the Conservation Workshop of the Department of Manuscripts, where I was much helped by the late Victor Carter and by Tony Parker, without whose practical advice it would not have been possible to do this work. My aim remained to find 'shapes' in the printing ink which were identifiable as printing types. A typographical identification would not only prove that the smudges were caused by printing ink, but would also establish *whose* printing ink had caused them.

I examined the manuscript page for page with the aid of a magnifying glass, followed by the examination of each page with the Level Development infrared viewer (model IRV]. The magnifying glass helped the eye to distinguish the difference in colour and texture between the scribes' inks and the printing ink. The infrared viewer provided a very accurate optical distinction between the two kinds of ink. Under infrared light the scribes' inks, both a dark brown and a lighter shade, became pale, while a red ink, which was copiously used in the manuscript for writing all names which occur in the text, disappeared altogether. The spots of printing ink seemed to float on top of the now paler writing. In other words, the three kinds of ink (scribes', red, and printing ink) absorbed the infrared radiation in a completely different manner. This proved to be an infallible method of checking the observations made with the naked

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13   W. Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands* (1962), observed (vol. I, p. 97) that printer's copy may be recognised by means other than the presence of marking up: 'Compositors' finger-prints are possible indications; for if they handle type that has lately been washed and is not yet dry, they get dirty hands; or for that matter, dry type will soil fingers too' (referring to 16 instances illustrated in the Plates). '… But these clues are not enough to support a conclusion. Smudging without more is a weak argument: it needs corroboration by other evidence such as set-off from the wet ink of a proof, which is a contributory sign …' (with one reference). I have noticed very clear smudges of printer's ink in the manuscript of 'De historie van Jason', BL Add MS 10290 (I), in the copy of the *Book of St Albans* used by Wynkyn de Worde, BL, IB. 55712, both discussed extensively in the present collection of essays, and in the Greek manuscript of Theophrastus used in the workshop of Aldus Manutius, fMS Harvard Gr. 17 ('List of Printer's copy' no. 36). A blind impression of type in the manuscript is another sign, as seen in the printer's copy BAV Ms Vat. lat. 3319 for Johannes Tortellius, *Orthographia*. Rome, 1471, see 'List of Printer's Copy', no. 10. Other instances of printer's copy, however, remained impeccably clean.

eye. In a review of the two facsimile editions Dr Walter Oakeshott suggested that the offsets might have been caused by the darker of the two inks used in the manuscript.[14] In fact, one dark offset, on fol. 179^r, which at first sight might appear similar to the other offsets, proved to be a smudge of scribes' ink: under infrared it nearly disappeared and behaved in the same way as the written text.

Having established that the offsets were caused in all other cases by an ink intrinsically different from the scribes' inks, I checked for every instance of whether the offset was imposed over the writing. For this I used the binocular microscope with magnification ranging from 3×up to 24×. In each case the offsets formed patches on top of the writing. The different nature of the two kinds of ink became again very clear under high magnification.

In all I found 66 places in the manuscript where traces of printing ink were visible.[15] Many of these traces were blots or smudges without any definite shape. Many other offsets formed merely a flock of black specks in which perhaps the regularity of the typeset page which caused it can be detected, but nothing more. A small number of offsets seemed to be more clearly defined so that an attempt could be made to establish the form of the types that had caused them, via a printed page. In this part of the examination, which required an exact identification of forms, I ran into difficulties due to the limitations of the infrared viewer. When seen under the infrared viewer, shapes lose their definition to a considerable extent. It is also quite impossible, of course, to reverse the image to appear as a positive impression for easier identification. I therefore proceeded to use the infrared viewer as the means to establish exactly which shapes to examine, and having established that, to examine the shapes with the naked eye aided by a magnifying glass and a mirror. In this way I recognised the offsets of some lower-case types, but also, more significantly, the quite unmistakable curly flourishes of the capitals which belong to the design of Caxton's types. It was possible to measure two of these elusive appearances using a magnifying glass with a 0.10 cm scale, and even to trace them on the facsimile of the manuscript.[16] Both tests led to the same conclusion: the tracing

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14   Walter Oakeshott, 'The Matter of Malory' *The Times Literary Supplement*, 18 February 1977, p. 193.

15   Traces of printing ink were observed on: fols. 9^r, 11^r, 12^r, 13^r, 17^r, 26^v, 27^v, 28^r, 39^r, 43^v, 72^v, 92^r, 100^v, 101^r, 122^v, 132^v, 136^r, 138^v, 140^v, 156^r, 158^r, 158^v, 159^r, 162^r, 163^r, 185^v, 186^v, 187^v, 188^v, 189^v, 195^v, 247^v, 248^r, 266^v, 269^r, 270^v, 271^v, 299^r, 312^r, 314^r, 329^v, 336^v, 338^r, 341^v, 385^r, 385^v, 386^v, 387^r, 390^r, 395^r, 405^r, 407^r, 408^r, 409^r, 410^v, 412^r, 413^r, 414^r, 415^r, 415^v, 418^v, 418^v, 420^v, 421^r, 424^r, 433^r.

16   On fol. 159^r, l. 13 (trace of F); fol. 186^v, l. 6 (trace of B); see also fol. 187^v, l. 6 (trace of I).

and measurements match exactly the capitals B and F which belong to Caxton's Type 4. The offsets of these two capitals are incomplete impressions.

The next step was to try to see whether my observations with infrared and with the naked eye could be reported in the form of photography using infrared light. Five pages with offsets were photographed in the British Library photographic studio using infrared lighting. The results were disappointing: the writing which had appeared pale under the infrared viewer remained obstinately visible in the photographs. The photographer of the British Library, Mr Graham Marsh, then took the initiative of consulting the Forensic Science Laboratory of the Metropolitan Police, which had extensive experience with and sophisticated equipment for infrared photography in the investigation of forged documents. We were invited by the head of the Section Documents to come and talk the problem over with their photographer, Mr K.E. Creer. For the problem of visually separating two kinds of ink, two sets of instruments were particularly relevant, the infrared image converter (a more elaborate version of the infrared viewer), used with a choice of filters, and a large number of filters used in photography; the infrared luminescence box did not prove to be effective in the case of the Malory manuscript.[17] As none of these aids were at the time available in the British Library photographic studio, the Forensic Science Laboratory offered to make a number of photographs for us. It was possible to take up this offer thanks to the permission of the British Library Board, and the aid of all authorities concerned, and to take the Malory manuscript, properly escorted, to the Laboratory for one day.

I had selected five pages with offsets which promised to be identifiable. After examination with the infrared image converter, Mr Creer decided to use an 88A filter with high-contrast infrared plate Kodak IN. The results seemed at first not as dramatically spectacular as was hoped, in that the scribes' writing remained visible. But in the photographs the offsets became darker and some shapes which had not been noticeable before became visible now. By tracing these shapes and placing them over types in original Caxton editions it was possible to make the following positive identifications:

fol. 159^r, l. 13: Capital F and defective lower-case w from Caxton's Type 4.
fol. 186^v, ll. 7/8: Capital B from Caxton's Type 4. This page shows many more defective offsets of type.

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17   K.E. Creer, 'Unusual Photographic Techniques in Document Examination', *Forensic Science*, 7 (1976), pp. 23–29. D.M. Ellen and K.E. Creer, 'Infra-red Luminescence in the Examination of Documents', *Journal of the Forensic Science Society*, 10 (1970), pp. 159–164.
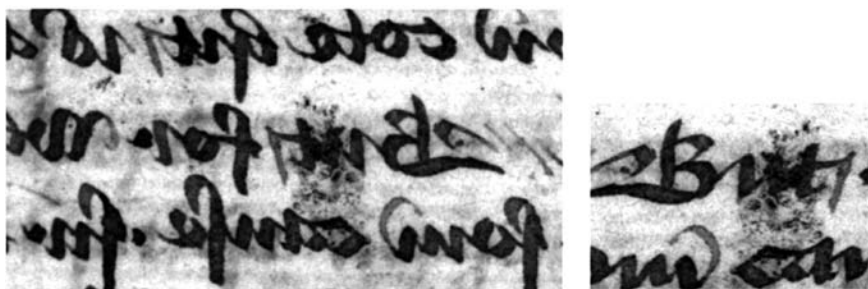
FIGS. 15.1A–B *Capital I, Caxton Type 2: Left: mirrored. London BL, Add MS 59678, fol. 187ᵛ (detail).*
Right: as seen in the manuscript. London BL, Add MS 59678, fol. 187ᵛ (detail).

fol. 187ᵛ, l. 6:   Capital I² from Caxton's Type 2.
fol. 407ʳ, l. 4:   lower-case y and s from Caxton's Type 2.

The other two pages which were photographed (fol. 315ᵛ and 424ʳ) show clearly fragmentary shapes of type, but I have not been able to identify them. It is certainly possible, even likely, that on these and on other pages there are more offsets which, given enough time, may be recognised as caused by identifiable types. It is doubtful, though, whether these possible identifications would add much to what the combination of types listed above can tell us. Moreover, the patience and endurance of all who had so generously helped in this investigation of what must have seemed at times trivial to the point of the ridiculous, had been stretched to the limit. My warmest gratitude still goes out to all.[18]

More than 30 years on, it is possible to add a coda to the story of this investigation. The British Library now has an updated version of the videospectral comparator which can produce digital images of what is observed on the screen. The four pages with identifiable offsets where once more submitted to scrutiny in August 2013; the result was confirmation of the earlier observations, but it was now possible to show this in images with at least as much clarity as before, and with a fraction of the effort. In the images produced digitally it was clearer that the offsets of type formed part of more extensive smears of printing ink than I had been able to observe before (see Figs. 15.1–3, cf. Fig. 15.4). I am most grateful to Christina Duffy, now in charge of the workshop, who continues the tradition of helpfulness and admirable patience.

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18   A reward for our efforts was the once-in-a-lifetime headline in *The Daily Telegraph* of 19 April 1978: 'Police follow inky clues in mss to Caxton'.

FIGS. 15.2A–B *Capital F, Caxton Type 4: Left: mirrored. London BL, Add MS 59678, fol. 159ʳ (detail). Right: as seen in the manuscript. London BL, Add MS 59678, fol. 159ʳ (detail).*
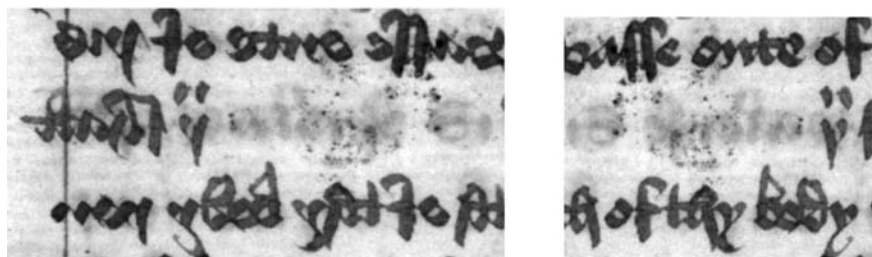
FIGS. 15.3A–B *Lower-case y, Type 2: Left: mirrored. London BL, Add MS 59678, fol. 140ᵛ (detail). Right: as seen in the manuscript. London BL, Add MS 59678, fol. 140ᵛ (detail).*
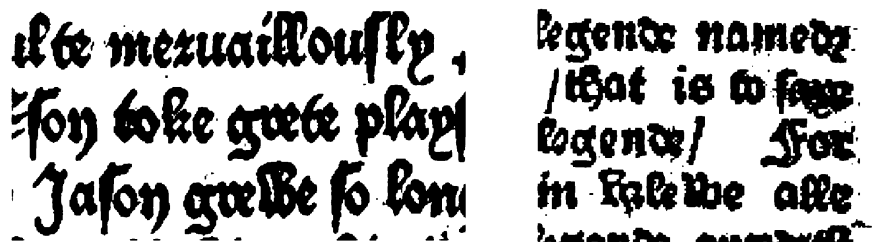
FIGS. 15.4A–B *Characters I and y in Caxton Type 2, F in Caxton Type 4.*

Apart from the offsets there is another piece of material which links the manuscript to Caxton. It is a piece of vellum, printed on one side in Caxton's small Type 7; it had already been identified by Victor Scholderer as a fragment of an indulgence printed in 1489.[19] A perfect copy (apparently sold by an indulgence pedlar) is in Trinity College, Dublin. The fragment, now detached,

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19   Duff 212, GW 10920, ISTC ij00333400, BMC XI, p. 166.

was used to repair a tear in fol. 243 of the manuscript. Such a repair may of course have been made at any time, but under the circumstances it is far more probable that it was done not long after this small piece of vellum was condemned as printer's waste: indulgences are important documents and were not cut up unless their printing was faulty (unless they became useless after they had failed to be issued before the indulgence expired) and thus landed in a forerunner of the recycling bin labelled 'printer's waste'. As printer's waste they would find use as a solid material to hold other material together, usually surviving in book-bindings. The fragment seems to be printer's waste, the result of an imperfect impression. It is, however, useful evidence that the manuscript was still in or near Caxton's business in 1489. At this point we may recall Graham Pollard's remark on the use of indulgences as printer's waste, much quoted in the discussions about the Malory manuscript: '… the only place in which they are likely to be found as waste is the shop of their printer', and '… waste paper or vellum can seldom have strayed from the place where it was first considered to be waste'.[20] This rule is still as valid as when Pollard formulated it.

Other Material Evidence

With the surveys of Caxton's use of type and their reproductions published in 2007 in BMC XI, it is now possible to be quite succinct about the evidence of the offsets: Type 2 was used from 1476 to 1483, and Type 4 was introduced in 1480.[21] Therefore, there is a period of about three years when both were in use, from the summer of 1480 to the spring of 1483. These two dates are an indication of the period when the evidence points to active handling of the manuscript in the close vicinity of paper bearing impressions of these founts of type. The evidence for intense handling goes, of course, well beyond the four pages quoted above, where shapes have now been identified as offsets of type; the 62 other pages where traces of printing ink were observed are equally witnesses for contact with printed papers.

To the evidence provided by the fragment of the indulgence printed by Caxton in 1489, which indicates that at that time the manuscript was still in his printing shop, may now be added a circumstance which suggests that

20   Graham Pollard, 'The Names of Some English Fifteenth-Century Binders', *The Library*, 5th ser. 25 (1970), p. 195, n. 3, p. 196.

21   BMC XI, pp. 86–87; reproduced Plates 1–2, 4–5. Also Duff (2009), pp. 205–206, Plates II–III, V.

it remained in Westminster even longer, which was detected by Professor Tsuyoshi Mukai in his study of the reprint of Caxton's edition by Wynkyn de Worde; however, he did not draw precisely the same inference as I do.[22] Wynkyn de Worde published in 1498 a reprint of the text, taking Caxton's edition as primary source but supplementing it with readings from at least one other source.[23] The process of respelling and modernising the language and generally editing the text, which was initiated by Caxton, was continued by De Worde or his editor 13 years after the *princeps*. The parallel case of De Worde's continued textual improvement of the *Canterbury Tales* comes to mind.[24] That there was also a secondary source De Worde could consult is particularly clear in a section of text in the reprint edition which corresponds precisely with leaves Y4/Y5 (the middle sheet of quire Y^8) of Caxton's edition, as pointed out by Mukai. The sheet must have been missing from De Worde's printed exemplar. In this section De Worde deviates from Caxton, most obviously by not observing the chapter division that Caxton had introduced here. Professor Mukai surmised that Wynkyn de Worde must have made up for the deficiency by using a backup copy, either the Malory manuscript or the now lost manuscript used as Caxton's own printer's copy. Since the now lost printer's copy must have been Caxton's own 'chaptered' version—whether this directly derived from the Malory manuscript or not—this was obviously not De Worde's backup copy, for in that case the new chapter division would have reappeared in De Worde's edition. Therefore, it seems to me that when De Worde encountered a defect in the probably unbound sheets of Caxton's edition which he used as exemplar, he is likely to have resorted to the other source suggested by Mukai, the Malory manuscript, which apparently was still available to him. Similarly, he may have sometimes consulted it elsewhere in the text when Caxton's version of the text seemed unsatisfactory, and he (or his editor) could not solve the question contextually. The variants based on a sample of two chapters and listed by Mukai in the Appendix as 'De Worde agrees with Winchester against Caxton' would support the notion that De Worde consulted the Malory manuscript, but for the fact that they all appear to fall within the range of De Worde's modernisation and clarification through minor changes in word order and morphology. Likewise, the variants listed as 'Caxton agrees with Winchester against de Worde' do not go beyond what can be expected of De Worde's

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22 Tsuyoshi Mukai, 'De Worde's 1498 Morte Darthur and Caxton's Copy-Text', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 51 (2000), pp. 24–40.

23 Duff 284, ISTC im00103100, GW M20161.

24 See BMC XI, pp. 215–216.

editing.[25] Even such a careful recording of variants between the sources cannot provide certainty. If De Worde consulted the Malory manuscript, it would have remained available in the printing house at Westminster Abbey well after Caxton's death.

Conflicting Theories

Much of the literature about the textual tradition of the *Morte Darthur* centres on the question of which of the extant two earliest sources is closest to Thomas Malory's original words, the Malory manuscript or Caxton's printed edition. Vinaver's conclusion was that the two earliest sources had a collateral relationship, both having descended from different copies of Malory's autograph, and that the manuscript remained closer to Malory's original than Caxton's version, which showed considerable editorial interference but could be used as a backup witness where the manuscript was defective. Peter J.C. Field largely adhered to this editorial principle in his revised edition of 1990: apparently the smudges of printing ink on almost 70 pages could be explained sufficiently if Caxton had used the manuscript occasionally for consultation. For many scholars the Vinaver-Field stemma became a useful working assumption on which to base further investigations of the textual tradition, for example in relation to French sources.[26] Given the far-reaching influence of the Vinaver-Field edition, it is not surprising that only gradually did alternative interpretations of the relationship of the two sources come to be considered, mainly in the years after 1990 and partly taking account of the findings of my forensic examination of the manuscript. They were very conveniently summed up by Takako Kato in 2002, in the introduction to her study of the structure of Caxton's presentation in

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25   P.C.J. Field, 'De Worde and Malory', in Takami Matsuda etc. (eds.), *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector: Essays in Honour of Toshiyuki Takamiya* (Cambridge—Tokyo, 2004), pp. 285–294, discussed a much more complicated deviation between Caxton and De Worde, where De Worde found a solution to an obvious corruption in Caxton but did not follow the version of the Malory manuscript either. It seems likely that De Worde consulted here a French source—in the same way Caxton did intermittently, according to my hypothesis.

26   I leave here aside as irrelevant to my argument the hypothesis of William Matthews, elaborated by James W. Spisak in his text edition *Caxton's Malory: A New Edition of Sir Thomas Malory's 'Le Morte Darthur' Based on the Pierpont Morgan Copy of William Caxton's Edition of 1485* (Berkeley, CA, 1983).

print.[27] In those years the *princeps* had become the focus of interest not only of Dr Kato but also of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya. His study of Caxton's chapter divisions and page breaks led to a better understanding of the (lost) manuscript used as printer's copy—whether it was derived from the Malory manuscript or not (Takamiya assumed not).[28] Similarly, Kato's study also arrived at forming a notion of the printer's copy used in Caxton's printing house. She rejects the possibility that this was written by Caxton using the Malory manuscript as a basis, on what appears to me the spurious grounds that it is unlikely that 'an efficient businessman like Caxton would have had a text collated with several sources simply in order to insert minor variants'.[29] This seems to me the only flaw in an otherwise very carefully and precisely directed investigation. There is in her work, and that of others, a contradiction that remains unresolved: on the one hand it is stressed that—apart from Book V—there are not many striking differences between the two extant versions, the manuscript 'W' and Caxton's edition 'C'; on the other it is claimed that 'hundreds of passages that have counterparts in the sources but are missing from the manuscript are preserved in Caxton's book, ranging from a single word to a whole sentence'.[30] Helen Cooper made the same point in her essay 'Opening up the Malory Manuscript',[31] where she states that 'numerous' instances of homeoteleuton or eyeskip in the Malory manuscript prove that Caxton could not have used it, for his edition has the correct version, conforming with French sources. Cooper notes, however, that in such instances the Vinaver-Field editions merely quote a French version in their apparatus criticus, and that it is therefore difficult to spot those instances and determine how precisely the Malory manuscript 'W' and Caxton relate, and how often they diverge substantially. She gives only a single example, which in itself is convincing.

Apart from structuring Malory's text by introducing the division into chapters, as he stated himself in his prologue, Caxton's editing consisted of constantly modernising the language. This was made particularly clear by Yuji

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27   Takako Kato, *Caxton's* Morte Darthur: *The Printing Process and the Authenticity of the Text* [Medium Aevum Monographs n.s. XXII] (Oxford, 2002), Introduction, pp. 1–7.

28   Toshiyuki Takamiya, 'Chapter Divisions and Page Breaks in Caxton's *Morte Darthur*', *Poetica,* 45 (1995), pp. 63–78. In my *Caxton in Focus* (London, 1982), pp. 92–93, I gave a similar example of reconstructing Caxton's exemplar from a compositor's misunderstanding the casting off.

29   Kato, *Caxton's* Morte Darthur, see above n. 27, p. 21.

30   Kato, *Caxton's* Morte Darthur, see above n. 27, p. 21.

31   In Bonnie Wheeler etc. (eds.), *The Malory Debate: Essays on the Texts of 'Le Morte Darthur'* [Arthurian Studies 47] (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 255–284.

Nakao and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, two scholars who approached the problem of the relation of the two versions with an entirely different expertise, that of linguistic analysis.[32] They arrived at virtually the same conclusion: that the constant differences between the two sources are the work of one man, and that there is a clear pattern behind the alterations: modernisation, simplification, and clarification of the text. The language was adapted for metropolitan readers, although the editor seems also occasionally to have fitted the language to the chevaleresque topic. Both invoke my finding of printer's ink in the manuscript to postulate that there was a direct link between the Malory manuscript and Caxton's edition via a copy that reflected Caxton's editorial alterations in orthography, morphology, and syntax.[33] There can be no doubt, in their view, that the manuscript is closer to Thomas Malory's original than Caxton's version.

Finally, an important pointer to an answer to questions which seemed insoluble was first mooted by John Withrington in 1992,[34] and further developed by Masako Takagi and Toshiyuki Takamiya in a publication in 2000.[35] It had long been obvious that Book v, the Roman war episode, was much shorter in Caxton's version than in the manuscript.[36] The two authors demonstrated that in presenting a new version replacing that found in the manuscript, which preserved many traces of the alliterative poem *Morte Arthure*, Caxton had relied on a chapter in his own edition of the *Chronicles of England*, published in 1480 and reprinted in 1482. They support their argument with many examples, identifying beyond doubt Caxton's external source. They explain that in virtually rewriting this section, Caxton reconciled it with a popular historical source, the *Brut Chronicles*. I may add that this form of adaptation is also in line with Caxton's interest in the writing of history, evident in, for example, his own addition

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32   Yuji Nakao, 'On the Relationship between the Winchester Malory and Caxton's Malory', in Takashi Suzuki and Tsuyoshi Mukai (eds.), *Arthurian and Other Studies Presented to Shunichi Noguchi* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 201–209. Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, *The Two Versions of Malory's Morte Darthur: Multiple Negation and the Editing of the Text* [Arthurian Studies 35] (Cambridge, 1995).

33   Nakao, 'Relationship', p. 208.

34   John Withrington, 'Caxton, Malory, and the Roman War in the *Morte Darthur*', *Studies in Philology*, 89 (1992), pp. 350–366.

35   Masako Takagi and Toshiyuki Takamiya, 'Caxton Edits the Roman War Episode: The *Chronicles of England* and Caxton's Book v', in Wheeler etc. (eds.), *The Malory Debate* (see above n. 31), pp. 169–190.

36   Walter Oakeshott commented on it in his earliest publication on the subject, 'Caxton and Malory's Morte Darthur', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1935*, pp. 112–116.

of the Liber Ultimus to Higden's *Polychronicon*, and his listing of other historical works in his prologue to the *Morte Darthur*.

Despite all the editorial work and interpretation that has engaged so many eminent scholars over so many years, a major question remains unanswered; to address it requires the combined expertise and experience of Malory scholars and of those well versed in Caxton's work. With the exception of Takamiya and Kato, none of the Malory scholars has taken any account of early print culture in general and in particular the huge amount of material there is which can inform us about Caxton's habits when reproducing texts as editor and translator. And even within the textual criticism of the transmission of the *Morte Darthur*, nobody, to my knowledge, has attempted a quantitative statement other than 'hundreds' or 'numerous' of the variants where Caxton's version is indubitably derived from an external French source X—not merely or apparently coinciding with French sources. There has not been a systematic investigation (instead of a few selected examples) which would distinguish Caxton's variants that necessarily originate from a French source from those that can be understood equally well as having been introduced in the editorial process without demonstrable resort to other sources: as a contextual correction or clarification, or an editorial intervention in retelling the tale. That an altogether different category of variants from the manuscript version might be introduced by compositors for copy-fitting is already well recognised.

The frequency of instances where Caxton's version indubitably relies on external French sources not transmitted in the Malory manuscript is a crucial argument in establishing the relation between the manuscript version and Caxton's edition. In the light of the forensic examination of the manuscript, Malory scholars even have a burden of proof, which can be met by establishing that frequency.

Until such a response to the material evidence for Caxton's extensive use of the manuscript has been seriously attempted, equal weight should be given to an alternative to the now widely accepted hypothesis of the status of Caxton's edition in the transmission of the text. The accepted hypothesis is, in brief, 'Caxton worked from a source with a collateral relationship to the manuscript W, which he used occasionally as a consultation manuscript'. This hypothesis can simply be reversed, and runs: Caxton used the Malory manuscript as a basis for creating the printer's copy for his edition, and consulted an external French source, or sources, when the occasion arose, when he was puzzled by an illogical or obscure passage in the manuscript version he was editing.

Conclusion

Emboldened by the insights gained since 1990, especially the linguistic analysis and the identification of Caxton's *Chronicles of England* as an external source, I present my hypothesis with less caution than I felt necessary in 1981. My interpretation of the material evidence, supported by the extensive circumstantial evidence, leads me to propose the following course of events:

Caxton's publication of the *Morte Darthur* should be considered in the light of his extraordinary career as translator and publisher of his own translations. During his 30 years in Flanders he assembled not only knowledge of the currently popular historical literature and pseudo-historical romances in French, he must have had access to them by owning, borrowing, and perhaps sometimes copying the books. His 21 translations of substantial works from the French, 10 of which appeared in print before he completed his edition of the *Morte Darthur*, are ample testimony of his extensive knowledge of the French literature that was popular in his time, especially works of history and pseudo-history.[37] All traces of the books he used as bases for his translations have disappeared, but a few are mentioned in his prologues as having been lent to him by a patron. Thus we learn that he once owned a manuscript of the French romance *Blancandin*, for he sold it to Margaret Beaufort before translating it at her request and subsequently (c. 1490) publishing his translation.[38] It does not need much imagination to conjecture that among the manuscripts with texts that Caxton evidently came to know, there were also some in the French Arthurian tradition.

In Caxton's publishing programme of translations, which from 1483 gathered new momentum, a translation of Arthurian texts would therefore have fitted very well for even more reasons than he sets out himself in his prologue to the *Morte*. He might well have undertaken such a translation himself if Malory's recent translation had not existed already. As it was, he decided to spruce up

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37   In order of first appearance (before Malory): Duff 242, 81, 245, 401, 164, 84, 408–409, 79, 241, 4, as well as the *Ovide moralisé*; (later than Malory): Duff 83, 337, 366, 248, 96, 127, 404, 152, 45, 235. See also the essay 'From Poggio to Caxton' in the present collection, where I listed and discussed Caxton's translations (pp. 255–260).

38   The English title is *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, Duff 45, GW 4402; see BMC XI, pp. 57 and 176–177, In his prologue Caxton writes: '… whiche boke I late receyved in Frenshe from her good grace [i.e. Lady Margaret Beaufort] and her commaundement wythalle for to reduce and translate it into our maternal and Englysh tonge; whiche boke I had longe tofore solde to my sayd lady …'. (Quoted from Blake, *Caxton's Own Prose*, p. 57).

Malory's text instead of translating himself a similar version of Arthurian stories from the French.

Unlike Chaucer, by then regarded by Caxton as an iconic poet whose words were to be treated with great respect, Thomas Malory was an almost contemporary author whose version of the thrilling stories could be stripped of distracting quirks and the regional usage of a knight of the previous generation. In his editing, while copying Malory's text Caxton engaged in a process of forming it anew, aiming to present the stories in a pristine state for his contemporary readers. Many changes, appearing as variants from the manuscript version, were made almost automatically, according to his own habits; others were deliberate corrections, which might arise from the context. Infelicities and obscure passages could sometimes be improved by consulting one or more volumes with Arthurian sources in French which—we may guess—he would have had to hand. Writing a new version of the Roman war in Book V was a separate exercise. For the new readers of the text now more widely available in print, access to the stories could be made transparent by dividing the text into numbered sections, or 'chapters' headed by rubrics, and the compiling of a table of contents corresponding to the rubrics.

Writing all this text out was routine and second nature for Caxton. He had prepared copy for the press by writing it out ever since he produced in 1472–1473 his first translation into English, *The Recuyell of the histories of Troy*. Apart from his translations, most of them based on manuscript sources, he also edited, and he wrote the *Polychronicon*'s Liber Ultimus. Compiling tables of contents such as those appearing in many of his books, especially long and elaborate ones (for example, in the *Polychronicon* and the *Golden Legend*)—it must have been his pride and joy.

Heaps of paper were required to write all this out. Here I have a different take on the 'efficient businessman' envisaged by Takako Kato: in a printing house with a steady production such as Caxton's there was a constant supply of waste-paper; trial sheets, proofs printed on one side, and spoiled sheets were pieces of paper which still had their uses. This is the reason we can still occasionally find them, because they had frugally been made to serve another purpose. I think that it is very likely that Caxton often wrote on waste-sheets printed on one side. When writing he put such sheets on top of the manuscript (print-side down), using the volume as support in the way we are still admonished not to do in libraries that care for their books. If the offsets of ink in the manuscript are due to waste-sheets having been used as writing material on top of its pages, the dating of the offsets of type is no more than an approximate demarcation of the period in which they were used.

My further hypothesis is that it may have been Caxton's practice to pre-

pare rough manuscripts, destined to serve as printer's copy—but not beyond that purpose—and therefore ephemeral. Once their text had been transferred into print they were discarded. Hence, if Caxton's was indeed a rough, draft manuscript, with corrections and second thoughts, it would have been difficult to cast off precisely: not so much bad casting off (Kato), but irregular writing, difficult to count. Finally, we should bear in mind that there are other cases of manuscripts written with the express purpose of use in the printing house, even in the incunabula period, and some happen to survive. The earliest known is the Pliny, written for Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1469–1470. Hans Tucher had the report of his travels copied by a professional scribe to be used as printer's copy. The Latin and German manuscripts of the Nuremberg Chronicle with their drawings by great artists are the most glamorous and famous. The Greek manuscripts which Aldus Manutius had copied by various scribes for production in the printing house survive only because they were rescued from the premises by Johannes Cuno.[39] Less certain is whether the *Historie van Jason* was copied and illustrated for Gheraert Leeu, although it was used by Jacob Bellaert, as discussed in the present collection.[40] Gheraert Leeu probably copied a manuscript account of Marco Polo's travels while visiting Padua in order to print the text when back at home in Gouda. Leeu's manuscript is lost.[41] Difficult printer's copy presumably led to errors in casting off in the heavily annotated and corrected printed book with Cicero's *Orationes*, used as printer's copy in Venice in 1480.[42]

When interpreting the small but constant changes between the two sources for Malory's text, the manuscript and the earliest printed version, we are on ever-shifting ground: defects introduced by the scribes of the Malory manuscript which invited correction, the ebb and flow of Caxton's attention and interest in the text, with ensuing variations in the frequency of his interference, as is also clearly witnessed in his 'editing' for the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. Then, after Caxton had produced his manuscript for the *Morte* and it had been passed on to compositors, they introduced their own misreadings and errors as they went along with their typesetting, as well as their individual habits of spelling, as can well be seen in the few instances in Caxton's workshop when text was immediately reset in order to repair an imposition error.[43] The

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39   See 'List of Printer's Copy', pp. 67–101, nos. 7 (Pliny), 22 (Tucher), 28–29 (Nuremberg Chronicle), and 36–40 (Aldus's publications in Greek).

40   See 'List of Printer's Copy', no. 23, and the essay pp. 304–365.

41   See the essay 'The Travels of Marco Polo and Gheraert Leeu', pp. 278–303.

42   See the essay on Cicero's *Orationes* printed in Venice, 1471–1480, pp. 228–253.

43   See for example above, p. 376 and n. 25.

many variants at page-ends are also due to the inventiveness of compositors. The copy-fitting in Lefèvre's *l'Histoire de Jason* offers a good comparison, since it is likewise a case where a text of a recent author is handled with little notion of preserving authenticity: such an adventure story could take a few knocks.

This brief evocation of what may have happened to Malory's text when it was edited and converted into print in Caxton's printing house comes after a great deal of painstaking work done over many years by many scholars. My conclusion is that after all this precise work it may be possible to arrive at plausible reconstructions of the passage of Malory's text through successive phases of copying and editing in manuscript and print, but that certainty may remain as elusive as attempts to retrieve Malory's actual words. Too many hands have touched the text; too many minds have left their marks on it. Therefore, inexact as this conclusion is (and has to be), we may allow Caxton the last word 'for togyve fayth and byleve ... ye be at your lyberte'.

Subject Index: Text in Printing Houses

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